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MEMORIALS OF ARGYLESHIRE.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARGYLESHIRE:

IN FIVE PARTS,

WITH APPENDICES.

BY

ARCHIBALD BROWN,

GREENOCK.

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*"GE TROM AN SUAIN'S GUN LUA' RIM FAICINN
THA'N DREACH G'UN STAD ANN AM SMUAINTE.'*

GREENOCK:
JAMES M'KELVIE & SONS,
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PREFACE.

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THERE are few districts in Scotland but can boast of a history of their own. Strange to say, Argyle, the cradle of the Scottish race, and of Royalty in Britain, has hitherto been an exception, not for want of native talent, for the district has produced men who have shed lustre on various themes of literature. The chief omission seems to be that of their native antiquities. This class of literature appears to have few sympathisers, but if it is the case, as Pinkerton says, "that there are not above half-a-dozen antiquarians in an age in this country," the paucity in this field of literature is not after all so very surprising.

Our great historians have not had much relish for Highland history, and no wonder; for, not being natives, they were strangers to both the language and habits of the people, and also to the local traditions of the district.

The most satisfactory writer of the early history of Argyle is Father Innes. Pinkerton wrote much, but is prejudiced against everything Celtic. Chalmers' "Caledonia" has too large a scope to do justice to small matters. Burton sneers at everything Highland. Others again consider the early history all fable, and commence their annals at a late date. Lord Hailes and Laing begin with Malcolm Canmore, and Tytler begins with Alexander III.

Instead of reconstructing the fragments of Scottish history scattered abroad among early writers, our modern scribes prefer flickering about the seats of royalty, with their feudal pomp and political scheming. They seldom cast a glance at the outskirts of Highland society—except to pass a crude judgment on the natives, when found involved in feuds and rebellion. However, it must be candidly admitted that national histories at best are but prominent summaries of the deeds of a nation. Local affairs are left to humble enthusiasts, whose labours of love are to glean incidents overlooked at a distance by others.

With these general remarks, I shall now introduce a summary of this Book, which I call

MEMORIALS OF ARGYLESHIRE.

The substance of these was originally written in the form of essays, which have been my evening pastime for many years. The Memorials as a whole cannot be called a consecutive history, as each part is complete in itself. Their only affinity is, that they dovetail and succeed each other in the order of time. I do not pretend to be what Carlyle calls a "writer of books," but in my own way I have endeavoured to gather facts from the most authentic sources, which I acknowledge, and I have attempted to rescue from oblivion some incidents in the annals of my native shire, which were being distorted, overlooked or forgotten. Owing to the controversial nature of the volume a few repetitions must occur when evidence is submitted from different points of view, in order to avoid obscurity. I am aware that my conclusions on various matters are often opposed to the settled notions of learned men, but when I unfortunately happen to differ from these, I give my reasons and leave the intelligent reader to decide.

A. B.

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THE BOOK CONTAINS FIVE PARTS.

PART I.

Extends from the earliest times till the year 843, and is divided into five chapters.

Chapter First.—Some preliminary remarks about the most ancient names of North Britain and of the origin of its inhabitants.

Chapter Second.—A summary of the early fabulous annals of ancient nations who had a craze to surpass each other in their antiquities, which include these of Argyle.

Chapter Third.—The fictitious history of Argyle with its alleged forty kings who are said to have reigned from 330 B.C. to 403 A.D.

Chapter Fourth.—The first colony of Scots which arrived from Ireland in the year 258, till expelled by the Picts about the year 440 A.D.

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PART III.

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(1.) He gives a fanciful table of the descent of the Highland Clans, from Ptolemy's geography downwards.

(2.) He founds theories of their origin on John Elder's letter to Henry VIII.

(3.) He obliterates the connection of the natives of Argyle with the royal Dalriadic dynasty, and amalgamates them with the northern pirates under the name of Gael-gall.

(4.) He resuscitates the fables of Fordon and Winton about the conquest of Argyle in 1221, by Alexander II.—That monarch's subjugation of the natives and their displacement by strangers.

Chapter Second.—Some general remarks about the old families of Argyle who trace their origin to the Irish royal dynasty of Dalriada, and other Irish sources; divided into three sections.

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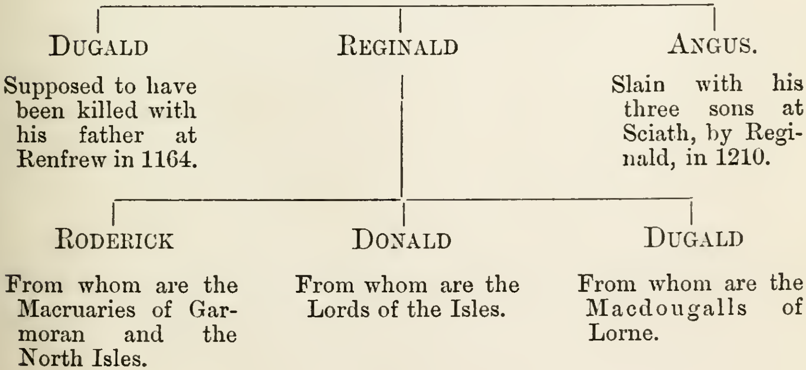
(3.) The other old natives of Argyle during this period are divided into five large families, viz.:—

I.

SOMERLED AND HIS DESCENDANTS.



DUGALD
Supposed to have been killed with his father at Renfrew in 1164.

REGINALD

ANGUS.
Slain with his three sons at Sciath, by Reginald, in 1210.

RODERICK
From whom are the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles.

DONALD
From whom are the Lords of the Isles.

DUGALD
From whom are the Macdougalls of Lorne.

II.

THE FAMILY OF SYFIN, OR SWENE, OF UPPER KINTYRE AND KNAPDALE.

III.

THE FAMILY OF LAUMAN, THE GRANDSON OF FERCHAR, OF EASTERN ARGYLE PROPER AND COWAL.

IV.

THE FAMILY OF MAC NAUGHTON, OF LOCHAWE, GLENERA, GLENSHIRA, AND GLENFINE.

V.

THE FAMILY OF MACGREGOR OF GLENSTAY, GLENORCHY, AND GLENLOCHY.

PART IV.

Treats of the age and origin of Ossianic poetry (or heroic Gaelic ballads), which are traced to romances of the Middle Ages, composed by Scoto-Irish monks, and rendered into historic poems by James Macpherson, of Belville, and Dr. John Smith, Campbeltown. What makes this class of literature peculiar to Argyle is that nine-tenths of its remains were found there.

The authenticity of these poems has been a continual subject of contention between their abettors and detractors since published by Macpherson in 1760-1763. The evidences advanced by Macpherson in his notes and dissertation—such as the deeds of Ossianic heroes—allusions to Roman history—the order of the Druids—the continuity of the Bards—he intermingles with an imposing number of invented names of persons and places, connects them with the fragmentary ballads, and glosses them over with his own poetic genius, so as to make it a hopeless task to examine their genuineness without dissecting separately each part of his leading allegations. This I purpose to attempt in ten chapters, in the following order:—

Chapter First.—A sketch of James Macpherson, the reputed translator of Ossian.

Chapter Second.—Contrasts the poetic writings of James Macpherson and those of Dr. John Smith.

Chapter Third.—Examines the claims to priority of the English and Gaelic versions of the poems of Ossian.

Chapter Fourth.—Considers "The Highland Society's Report" on Ossian's poems.

Chapter Fifth.—Gives specimens of the proper and place names in the poems of Ossian.

Chapter Sixth.—Quotes the allusions to Roman history in confirmation of the dates of the poetry of Ossian.

Chapter Seventh.—Gives an account of the Order of the Druids in Britain, said to have been suppressed by Fingal, the father of Ossian, in North Britain.

Chapter Eighth.—Examines the continuity of the Bards from the era of Ossian till modern times.

Chapter Ninth.—Gives a historical account of the Glenmasan M.S. and of the place names in the poem of Deirdri.

Chapter Tenth.—Conclusion.

PART V.

The early pioneers of Scottish Gaelic Literature and Translations traced to Argyleshire; in four chapters.

Chapter First.—Contains general remarks about the state of learning in the Highlands of Scotland before the Reformation.

Chapter Second.—Gives a sketch of the life and labours of John Carswell, the pioneer of early Gaelic Literature and Translations.

Chapter Third.—Describes the efforts and success of the Synod of Argyle in translating into Gaelic "The Shorter Catechism" and "Brief sum of Christian Doctrine." Rendering the Psalms of David into Gaelic Metre, "Translating the Old Testament," "The Confession of Faith," and the Scripture Paraphrases.

Chapter Fourth.—Describes the difficulties under which the Synod laboured, and that it accomplished all without any extraneous help.

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PART FIRST.

THE EARLY ANNALS OF ARGYLESHIRE.

MEMORIALS OF ARGYLESHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

IN treating of the early history of a district it is necessary to refer to the country or kingdom of which it forms a part.

The old name of the island of Britain is said to have been Albion. The most ancient author who mentions Britain and Ireland is Aristotle, who speaks of two great islands beyond the Pillars of Hercules and the Gallic Bay, as Albion and Ierna.

In Pliny's time Britain was known by the name of Albion. The Venerable Bede commences his Ecclesiastical History by saying, "Britain is an island in the ocean, formerly called Albion." (Bk. I. chap. 1.)

That name has now become obsolete, except amongst the old Highlanders, who yet call themselves Albinich, and their country Albin. Buchanan says, "many think that this name was given to it from the white rocks which first appear to mariners as they sail from France. But it seems absurd to me to fetch the original of a British name from the Latin, there being then so little commerce between strange nations. Albion, Alba, Alpha, or Album, was a common name among nations, and it signified with them not only colour, but height too. I also judge the Alps were so called rather from their height than whiteness. I think we may conclude that Album or Albion is not a word of one nation, but of many nations; and in all the places which I have named, their height is always one and the same thing, their whiteness happens but for a few months of the year, and in some of them not at all. Besides, this also adds strength to my opinion that the name of the island derived from Albuin, whether Albion or Album, remains in Scotland to this very day, as in its native soil, neither could it be extirpated there notwithstanding so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and the vicissitudes of other things." (Hist. of Scot., Bk. 1.)

Although traces of this ancient name still survive in tradition and old books, the early name of the island is better known as Britain, the origin of which I shall not stop at present to enquire into. The Romans during their occupation spoke of it under this appellation. It is true when they invaded North Britain in 78 under Agricola, his biographer speaks of it as Caledonia, and seventy years later (150 A.D.) North Britain is mapped out by Ptolemy to nineteen tribes to which each tribe is assigned a district, about which little can be said. For upwards of two hundred and fifty years after this the Romans continued to call this part of the island North Britain or Caledonia, and its inhabitants Caledonians.

In 297, the inhabitants of North Britain are called Picts or *painted*, not because this distinction began then, for Cæsar tells us that the practice of self-painting was universal among the Britains in his day—55 B.C. (Bk. I. chap. 14.)

Eumenius, the Roman orator, was the first to term them Picts. He tells us they were the same as the Caledonians. (Innes Crit. Essay, 47-48.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITONS.

The origin of the natives of Britain has been an endless speculation from the time of Tacitus till the present day. It is the habit of antiquarians to fix on a part of the sayings of Tacitus to the exclusion of others, among whom are John Pinkerton, who harps on the well-known phrase, "The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians assure us of their German origin." He then says this passage is entitled to a commentary, which he expatiates upon, and proves to his own satisfaction, viz., that the ancient Caledonians were not Celts but Germans. (Pinkerton's Enquiry, Vol. I. pp. 184-5.) Tacitus, in the sequel to that passage says, "On the opposite coast to Gaul, the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the Continent, but whether that resemblance is the effect of their common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity. You will find in both nations the same religious rites, the same superstition, and the two languages differ but little." (Chap. XI.)

The learned Father Innes, in his article on the origin of the Caledonians or Picts, is still more conclusive. He thus sums up—"But as all that I have advanced hitherto in this article of the Caledonians coming from Scandia, or other parts of the European Continent, hath no other ground but a conjecture of Tacitus, and Bede's hearsay. I must own that it appears much more natural and more probable that the Caledonian Britons or Picts were of the same origin as the Britons of the South—that as these came in originally from the nearest coast of the Gauls by degrees; as they multiplied in the island and peopled the southerly parts of it, they advanced towards the more northerly and seated themselves there, carrying along with them the same customs as the Britons of the South, as also the same language, derived originally from the Celts or Gauls; and Tacitus himself seems at last to come to this opinion, for after his conjectures about the origin of the Caledonians and of the Silures, he adds, without exception as to all the Britons in general, that it was more credible or likely that the Gauls from the neighbouring coast had at first peopled the island." (Crit. Ess., pp. 70-1.)

From the foregoing, we may reasonably infer that down to the time of the Roman invasion the British nation was of one origin.

I have thus in a general way traced the first name of this island, and then the origin of its inhabitants.

I now purpose to treat the subject more minutely and, as I proceed, to confine my remarks more especially to the ancient annals of the Scots of Argyleshire in the following order, viz.:—

I.—The Fabulous History of Argyle.
II.—The Artificial History of Argyle.
III.—The Authentic History of Argyle.

CHAPTER II.

THE FABULOUS HISTORY OF ARGYLE.

THE craze of running up the origin of nations to incredible heights prevailed almost among all those of whom we have any certain account, each nation vieing with, and endeavouring to surpass the other in antiquities. We see this amplified in the pretensions of ancient times by the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks. The antiquities of the Egyptian dynasties, according to Manetho, extended backwards to 36,525 years, those of Chaldea for 432,000 years. Bryant clearly shews that the Egyptians mistook days for years. (Ancient Mythology, Vol. IV., pp. 436-8.)

With regard to the chronology of the Chaldeans he says, "Abydenas and Apolodorus copied from Alexander Polyhister, who received his information from Berosus, a priest of Belus, and that afterwards Eusebius copied from their writings this information handed down, but that their transcriptions are grossly wrong, as their own words, or at least the words they quote from Berosus are of themselves sufficient to confute their notions; for they speak of the first king who reigned to have been a Chaldean and of Babylon, and to have been called Alorus. Now it is certain that Nimrod built Babel, which is Babylon, after the flood. He was a Chaldean, and the first king upon earth; and he was called by many nations Orion and Alorus." (Vol. VI., pp. 121-143.) It is generally admitted that the Greeks borrowed their mythology from the Egyptians, which they did not well understand. Their pagan deities often had their origin in the elements of nature personified, ultimately rendered into a system. Herodotus informs us that Homer and Hesiod were the persons who at first framed the theogony of the Greeks. The Greeks themselves took delight in tracing the origin of their nation to these deities.

The student, in reading the classics, must wander through these vapid mazes of Greek lore. They will no doubt glance over his feelings as realities—like the tales of ghosts and fairies imbibed in his youth—which his better judgment immediately discards.

The natives of Britain and Ireland did not aspire to higher antiquity than the Creation. It is obvious that the genealogies on record, which extend to the beginning of time, have been written since the introduction of Christianity.

THE SAXON FABLES.

The early English pagan kings traced back their pedigrees to Woden, the deity of the northern nations. After the introduction of Christianity, Ethelwulf, King of the West Saxons, who flourished about 850, traces his pedigree to Sceaf, the son of Noah, who was born in the ark, and upwards to Adam. (Sax. Chron.)

THE IRISH FABLES.

The genealogies of the Irish are so profuse, and to be looked at from so many standpoints, that it is not easy to take a middle course. Their most ancient MSS., such as "Leabhar Drumnasneachta," or Book of the Snow back, "The Psalter of Cashel," and "The Psalter of Tara," inform us that Cain's three daughters had taken possession of the island, and that the eldest of them called Bamba, gave her name to the island, and also that Ceasarach, a niece of Noah, had been there. (Crit. Ess., p. 414.)

The Scottish pedigree as originally received from Irish sources runs thus:—Niul, the twentieth, from Japhet, went from Scythia to Greece. Gathelus, Niul's son, went to Egypt, where he married Scota, the daughter of Pharoah; and after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red Sea, he proceeded to Spain and founded a kingdom. Eber, the son of Gathelus, discovered Ireland and called it Scotia, in honour of his mother; and it was also called Hibernia from the discoverer. Milesius was the thirteenth from Gathelus, and reigned in Spain. (Pinkerton's Enq., Vol. II., pp. 9-10. Crit. Ess., pp. 487-8.)

This Milesius sent a second colony from Spain to Ireland, with his three sons, Heremon, Partholan, and Hybert, and the two last remained there, but assumed no kingly title. Heremon returned to Spain, where he succeeded his father. The seventeenth, in a direct line from Milesius, was Simon Breac, who brought with him the famous fatal stone, and placed it as a seat of the kingdom in Teamhra or Tara, and thus founded the monarchy of the Scots in Ireland. From this Simon Breac are descended all the monarchs of Ireland, and, in after ages, those of Scotland. (Crit. Ess., pp. 491-2.)

Besides these references to particular persons in their pedigrees, the Irish also furnish continuous genealogies of their ancestors from the Creation to the Incarnation, and afterwards.

In the first draft of their genealogy there were one hundred and four descents from Adam to Conar-mor, whom they place about the time of the Incarnation. But it is easy to see that the Irish antiquaries, after having perused the holy scriptures, and observing that in the same space of time and number of years, there were only sixty-seven generations from Noah till Christ set down by Luke, and according to Matthew fifty or fifty-four, thought fit to reform the old draft of their genealogy, containing about ninety-four generations in the same length of time, and by cutting off twenty of them, reduced them first to seventy-two generations, and not satisfied with that, Flaherty lops off nine or ten more, and reduces them exactly to the number of the longest scripture, that of Luke, and so on the whole there are about thirty generations cut off from Adam to Conar. (Crit. Ess., p. 486.)

It is easy to see that these alterations are the effects of reflections and second thoughts.

THE SCOTTISH FABLES.

The two oldest genealogies are those of William the Lyon, the first written about the year 1165, tracing him in a direct line to Adam, and the other, of date 1185, traces him only to Noah. Dr. Skene is of opinion that the first of them may be traced to Ailred, Abbot of Rievaux. (Preface Chron., Picts and Scots, pp. 48-9.)

As the names in this genealogy are referred to afterwards, I copy this first here in full.

GENEALOGY OF KING WILLIAM THE LYON—1165.

Willelmus rex rufus filius Henrici, filii David filii Malcolaim filii Donnchada, qui fuit nepos Malcolaim filii Cinada, filii Malecolaim, filii Domnaill, filii Constantin, filii Cinacha, filii Alpin, filii Echach, filii Eda-find, filii Echadach, filii Echach, filii Domongrat, filii Domnail-bric, filii Echach-buide, filii Edan, filii Gabran, filii Domangrat, filii Fergusa, filii Eirc, filii Echach-muinremuir, filii Oengusaphir, filii Fedelinthe-aislingig, filii Oengusa-buiding, filii Fedelinthe-ruamnaich, filii Senchormaic, filii Cruitlinde, filii Findfece, filii Achircir, filii Achchantoit, filii Fiacrach-cathmail, filii Echdach-riada, filii Conore, filii Mogalanda, filii Luigdig, filii Ellatig, filii Corpre-crumpchimi, filii Dare-dornmoir, filii Corbre, filii Admoir, filii Conarre-moir, filii Eterscenil, filii Eogami, filii Elela, filii Jair, filii Dedaid, filii

Sin, filii Rosin, filii Their, filii Rothir, filii Roin, filii Arandil, filii Manine, filii Forgo, filii Feradaig, filii Elela-arami, filii Fiachra, filii Firmara, filii Oengusa-turmig, filii Firce-chairroid, filii Ferroid, filii Firanroid, filii Firaibrig, filii Labchore, filii Echachalt-lechin, filii Elela-casiaclaig, filii Conlaich, filii Erero, filii Moalgi, filii Cobthaig-coelbreg, filii Ugaine-moir, filii Ecdaig-buadaig, filii Duach-lograich, filii Fiachraig-duadach, filii Duach-lograich, filii Fiachraig-tollgreich, filii Muredaich-bollgreich, filii Semoin, filii Bricc, filii Emidinb, filii Edom, filii Glais, filii Nuadat-fail, filii Elchada-olchaim, filii Sirna, filii Dem, filii Demail, filii Rodchada, filii Ogmaich, filii Oengussa, filii Olmochada, filii Fiachrach-laibrinne, filii Finergnaid, filii Smereta, filii Enmocha, filii Tigernaig, filii Fallaig, filii Etheoir, filii Jair, filii Dermeom, filii Mele-despain, filii Bili, filii Nema, filii Brige, filii Brigoind, filii Bracha, filii Theacha, filii Erchada, filii Aldoit, filii Noda, filii Nonaill hemir, filii Goildil-glais, filii Neuil, filii Fenius-farsaid, filii Eogani, filii Glunud, filii Lanind, filii Etheoir, filii Jair, filii Agmemnom, filii Thri, filii Boi, filii Sem, filii Mair, filii Esro, filii Aduir, filii Hieridach, filii Aoth, filii Sran, filii Esro, filii Boid, filii Riafich, filii Gomur, filii Jafeth, filii Noe, filii Lameth, filii Matussalem, filii Enoc, filii Jarech, filii Malalethel, filii Cainan, filii Enos, filii Sed, filii Adam, filii Dei vivi. (Chron. of Picts and Scots, pp. 133-4.)

These fabulous genealogies were not confined to crowned heads, for many of the old Highland families indulged in the craze to a greater or less degree. In a Gaelic MS., written about 1550, in possession of the Highland Society of Scotland, Gilleaspuic M'Cailin of Argyle is lineally traced back to the father of the human race (Iona Club Transactions, Vol. I., part iv., Edin., 1839.)

Father Innes says: There was in our own time a Scottish gentleman, of an ancient family (Urquhart of Cromarty) who took a fancy to draw up his pedigree, from age to age, up to

Noah and Adam, and caused to be printed by the title of PANTOCHRONOCANON, or pedigree of the name of Urquhart of Cromarty, from the creation of the world to the present year of Christ, 1652. (Crit. Ess., p. 535.)

The long chains of these pedigrees are only recognisable in a few links at both ends, the links in the centre are unknown to history. Both kings and nobles who assumed this high antiquity, plunged, as it were, into a gulf, at ascertained history to reappear above water about the time of the Flood.

An Irish writer, D. Kennedy, says:—"The Scots have no history or records of high antiquities but what they copied or transcribed from those of Ireland." To which Innes ironically replies, "I am truly of same opinion, and it were a great injustice to rob the Irish seanachies of the honour of being the first inventors and abettors of these high antiquities." (Crit. Ess., p. 483.)

CHAPTER III.

THE ARTIFICIAL HISTORY OF ARGYLE.

THE artificial history of the race of Scottish kings of Argyle, from Fergus the First, the son of Feradac, to Fergus II., the son of Erc, is based on the fabulous genealogies of William the Lyon already referred to. This fictitious dynasty which is alleged to have extended from 330 B.C. to 403 A.C., is not quoted by any genuine writer before the year 1291, nor is there any sovereign king of the Scots mentioned before Fergus, the son of Erc, who assumed sovereignty in Argyle about the year 503 A.D. (Crit. Ess., p. 679.) The occasion of the origin of this fictitious dynasty of Scottish kings arose after the death of Alexander III., when the aspirants to the Scottish throne submitted their rights to Edward I., who disposed of them against each other, to suit his own ends, and then claimed his superiority over the kingdom.

The Scots at this juncture sent three commissioners to Pope Boniface VIII., to defend their cause, viz., William Frier, Professor of Canon Law in Paris, Baldred Bisset, Rector of Kinghorn, and William Eglisham.

The Pope, in a bull directed to Edward I., averred that Scotland belonged in ancient times, and still did of right belong to the See of Rome. That it had been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew, which consisted of one joint of the saint's arm, three fingers of his right hand, one tooth, and one kneepan. He then proceeded to confute the pretensions of Edward. (Hailes' Annals, Vol. I., pp. 293-4.)

To the Pope's claim on the miraculous relics of St. Andrew Edward opposed another miracle, saying Athelstane, King of England, overcame the rebellious Scots in battle through the intercession of St. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York. He prayed through the same intercession for a visible sign, whereby all men of that age and of the ages to come might know that the Scots were of right subject to England. Having thus spoken, he drew his sword, struck a flinty rock in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and made a gash in it of about an ell in length. The evidence of this miracle is two-fold: 1. The mark appears on the rock at this day; 2. The legend of the miracle is weekly recited in the Church of Beverley to the praise and glory of St. John." (Hailes' Annals, Vol. I., p. 297.)

The Pope, not content with the miracles, retorted, saying, "Should you have any pretensions to the whole, or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months; I will hear and determine according to justice. I take the cause under my own particular cognisance." (Hailes' Annals, Vol. I., p. 294.)

King Edward made no answer for a time, but being pressed, caused his nobles (12th February, 1301) to answer that Scotland was not a fief of the Apostolical See, but of England, and that they would not suffer their king to answer or send procurators to Rome, to debate the case. At last Edward himself answered, 7th May, 1301. After a long preamble he begins to shew the Pope how England at first got possession of Scotland, saying, "In the days of Ely and Samuel the Prophet, there was a certain famous and valiant man called Brutus, descended of the Trojans, who, after the destruction of the city of Troy did with many of the Trojan nobility arrive at a certain island then called Albion, inhabited by giants, who being by their might overcome and killed, he called this country after his own name, Britannia, and gave to his companions the name of Britons, and built the city which is called Trinovantum, now London. Thereafter he divided his kingdom among his three sons, to wit, to Locrinus, the eldest, he gave this part of Britain, which is now called England; to Albanactus, his second son, he gave that part then called Albion, now Scotland; and to Cambrus, his youngest, he gave that part thereof, then called Cambria, now named Wales; with a reservation to Locrinus, the eldest of the royal dynasty.

Two years after the death of Brutus, a certain king of the Hunns, named Humber, arrived in Albany and killed Albanactus, the brother of Locrinus, which, when Locrinus, king of the Britons, had heard, he pursued Humber, who in his flight was drowned in a river, which from him is called Humber: and so Albany returned to Locrinus." (Hailes' Annals, Vol. III., pp. 259-260.)

These long genealogies of Edward, having been communicated by the Pope's orders to the Scottish envoys still in Rome, they hastened to send them to Scotland to the Council, who caused answers to be drawn up and forwarded to their deputies at Rome, in which they allege that Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, came direct to Scotland with her son Erc, and that the old name of Albania was changed to Scotia from Scota. They also mention over and over again, one Erc, as the father of our Scottish kings, that he was son of Gathel and Scota, who was the first king at the settlement of the Scots in Britain, and, as giving his name with that of his father, Gathel, joined in one name Erc-gathel to the country in Britain (Argyle) which they first possessed. (Crit. Ess., pp. 714-5.)

This high antiquity of the royal race of Scottish kings is further followed up in the famous letter of the Scottish nobility under King Robert the Bruce to Pope John XXII., of 6th August, 1320. There they tell the Pope that King Robert was the one hundred and thirteenth king of the Scots, when in reality he was only the fifty-third king from Fergus the son of Erc. There were two ways in which they made up this long pedigree—*First*, the Pictish kings, according to the best accounts, were sixty-two in number, and, by adding both together, make exactly one hundred and thirteen kings. Or, *secondly*, it may be that they took the fifty-five names or descents in the genealogical line from Simon Breac to Fergus the son of Erc, as in the genealogy of King William the Lyon. For fifty-five kings, and those added to the fifty-eight kings in the common account from Fergus son of Erc, down to Robert the Bruce, together make one hundred and thirteen, including King Robert. (Crit. Ess., 710-13.)

We see that King Edward's pretences to high antiquity from Brutus, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Cambrensis, however fabulous, passed current in those days. The Scots, to be upsides with him, told Popes Boniface VIII. and John XXII. that they had a succession of kings long before the Incarnation.

Those incredible accounts indicate that British history was yet in its infancy, undigested, and vouchers were advanced, as Father Innes says, at a venture in a necessary juncture to serve a turn. It required time to make it ripen, and the labours of posterior writers to digest it, in order to fix the date of the Scottish monarchy, the number of its kings, and their names.

All this was the work of time, but the fabric was now begun. We shall see it wanted not hands, as occasion offered, to finish it piecemeal. (Crit. Ess., pp. 706-710.)

For upwards of sixty years after the manifesto of the Scottish nobility to Pope John XXII., the history of Scotland remained in the chaotic state represented to that Pope. Then John Fordon laid the plan of a history of Scotland. About a century and a half later, Hector Boece brought that history into shape; and a century still later George Buchanan gave it the finishing touch.

A short sketch of these learned men, and the part performed by each in propagating the fictitious history of the Scottish dynasty between Fergus I. and Fergus II., is given here.

FORDON OR FORDOUN.

In 1835, John of Fordon, a priest of the diocese of St. Andrews, compiled the history of the Scots in five books, from the beginning till the death of King David I., A.D. 1153. He also left some collections towards a continuation, all of which were published in 1722. (Crit. Ess., p. 201.)

Fordon spared no labour to restore the history of his country, said to have been destroyed by Edward I., and for that end he travelled all over Scotland, also into England and Ireland, in search of materials, from which he framed a new system of a chronicle of Scotland in five books. (Ib. 204-5.)

The second of these books contains the Scottish history, from the setting up of the monarchy by Fergus the son of Ferchard, anno 330 B.C., which continued for 733 years, till another famous era, to wit, the restoration of the Scottish monarchy in Britain, A.D. 403, by King Fergus II., son of Erc, after that kingdom had been ruined by Maximus, the Usurper. (Ib. 208.)

Fordon was the first we know of who fixed the epoch of the monarchy of Scotland to the year 330 before the Incarnation. He was also the first who raised to the dignity of the first monarch of the Scots in Britain, Fergus or Forgo son of Feredac, whose name had till then lain confusedly among the other names of the old genealogy of King William the Lyon without any mark or distinction, or having ever been taken notice of till Fordon added to his name, in the two copies he gives of the genealogy, the quality of first King of Albany. (Crit. Ess., pp. 736-7.)

From Fergus I. to Fergus II., during the space of seven hundred years, Fordon says there reigned forty-five kings over the Scots in Britain of the same nation and kindred, but he tells us neither the lives, actions, nor the times of their reigns, nor even the names of the forty-five kings. He only names as kings, Reuther, and Eugenius an uncle of Erc, the father of Fergus II., and he ingenuously owns that for the present he could say nothing distinctly of their reigns, because he had not found any full account of them. (Crit. Ess., pp. 211-2.) Yet with all his simplicity, he does not scruple to invent vouchers to prove the authenticity of the reign of Fergus, the son of Feredac, the first king of this fictitious dynasty.

His first voucher is in these four Latin lines—

Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotus
Ipsorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis
Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo
Christum trecentis ter denis praefuit annis.

Which may be freely translated—

Three hundred and thirty years
Before the Christian era,
Fergus the son of Ferchard
Bore in the van of his troops
A red lion roaring
On a tawny field.
He was the first king of the Scottish race
Who reigned in Albion.

Fordon does not tell whence he had these verses, whether from any former writer, new or old. Yet, the author of them, be he who he will, must have been little skilled if he intended that they should pass as ancient. Hailes says, "Before the days of William the Lyon, 1166-1214, none of the Scottish kings assumed a coat armorial. The lion rampant first appears on his seal. It is probable from this circumstance he received the appellation of The Lion." (Vol. I., pp. 156-7.)

His second voucher is a legend of Saint Congal, an Irish saint, which relates that Fergus, son of Ferchart, brought with him the famous chair from Ireland to Scotland, and was crowned on it the first King of the Scots. Father Innes says, "I have found at last the life of this Saint Congal. It was published by F. Fleming among the works of Saint Colomban. But there is not a word of Fergus the son of Ferchart, in it, or anything relating to Fordon's narration." (Crit. Ess., pp. 741-3.)

The last charge against Fordon is his guilt in interpolating dates. According to him Fergus II. began to reign A.D. 403, and died 419, and that King Aiden, his grandchild, died in 605: so there would be only three generations to take up nearly two centuries. It would seem that he was aware of this difficulty, and therefore to obviate it, or rather to hinder its being taken notice of, care is taken to intermix with the real kings in the interval betwixt Fergus and Aidan the names of four supernumerary kings, viz.. Eugenius, Constantin, Ethodius, and Kinatill, of all of whom there is no mention in the more ancient catalogues of our kings; and to three of them he has given long reigns, to help him to spin out the two centuries." (Crit. Ess., pp. 691-2.)

It is quite evident from all the ancient abstracts of our chronicles written before the year 1291, that the reign of King Fergus II. can be placed no higher than the year 500, for the three ancient catalogues of our kings, to wit, the Chronica Scottorum, the Register of St. Andrews, the Chronicle of the Latin Verse, and the Chronicles of Winton and Gray, bear unanimously that (1) Fergus, son of Erc, reigned three years; (2) Domangart, son of Fergus, five years; (3) Congal, son of Domangart, twenty-four years; (4) Gauran, son of Domangart, twenty-two years; (5) Conal, son of Congal, fourteen years; (6) Aidan, son of Gauran, thirty-four years, and died in 605. Now counting up the years of these six kings they amount to one hundred and two years, which being deducted from 605, the fixed epoch of the death of King Aidan (on which all parties, Fordon, as well as others, agree), there remain just five hundred and three years, as another proof of the beginning of the reign of Fergus the son of Erc; and by consequence of the monarchy of the Scots in Britain. (Crit. Ess., pp. 693-4.)

BOECE.

Hector Boece, or Bothius, was born in Dundee, studied in the University of Paris, and there became Master of Arts, A.D. 1494. He tells us that he was called away before finishing his studies, by Bishop Elphinstone, of Aberdeen. On his arrival there he was made Canon of Aberdeen and Princep of the new College.

We have seen that Fordon wrote his history about 130 years earlier than Boece; but Boece never mentions Fordon's history, though we are assured that he had it in his possession.

The vouchers of ancient history on which his history is built, and which he names, are the Chronicles of Inch-colm, Bishop Elphinstone's history, that of Bishop Turgot, of St. Andrew's, but chiefly of Vermundus, John Campbell and Cornelius Hybernicus. (Crit. Ess., pp. 214-8.)

A few words, by the way, about these vouchers. (1) The Chronicles of Inchcolm were written by Walter Bower, Abbot of that monastery, who was one of the continuators of Fordon's history. (2) William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, died 1514, his MS. history is divided into eleven books, whereof the first five books are John Fordon's Chronicles *verbatim,* the following six that of one of Fordon's continuators (Crit. Ess., p. 219). (3) Of the vouchers of Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, all that is known from his pen is the life of St. Margaret, queen of Malcolm Ceanmore. (Ib., 220.) Thus we see the whole weight of the credit of Boece's history, especially of the reigns of the first forty kings, Fergus I. to Fergus II., and indeed of all that we meet with in Fordon is at last resolved into the authority of Vermundus and of John Campbell, and he gives us this account of how we came by them. (Ib., 221.)

That he had them from Ycolmkill, which, says he, from the days of King Fergus II. had been appointed by him for the depository of public records, on this occasion, that the king during his exile (in Scandia) had assisted Alaric at the sacking of Rome A.D. 409; that whilst others carried off gold and silver, Fergus had chosen for his share of the plunder, a chest of books, which he carried off with him, and after his restoration placed in Ycolmkill, ordering that island to be thenceforth the depository of all public monuments of history, and especially of the Scottish annals, and appointing keepers to take care of them: that when King Edward I. destroyed and carried off all our public monuments of history, those of Ycolmkill escaped, and that from this island Boece had the works of Vermundus and John Campbell, with other ancient pieces, sent him to Aberdeen. (Crit. Ess., pp. 221-222.) It is singular that it did not occur to Boece that the Church or Monastery of Ycolmkill, was not founded until about 160 years after this era, and he seems to forget that he tells us that King Alexander I., considering the distance of Ycolmkill, and the difficult access to it, had caused our annals and other monuments of history to be removed from that island and transported to Restenoth, in Angus, and consequently we were to look no more for anything of this kind to Ycolmkill. (Ib., 222-223.)

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A proof of the writings or histories attributed to Vermundus and John Campbell not being genuine, is that they had never been heard of before the age of Boece.

Another proof against his history is the manner in which he manipulates the names and lives of his forty kings between Fergus I. and Fergus II.

The three oldest genealogies of the Scottish kings give thirty-five names between Fergus I. and Fergus II. Fordon says there were forty-five kings, but he names but three. Boece struck on a new plan by abridging the old genealogies to twenty-one, and adding nineteen names never heard of before, each of the latter being appointed to act as personages, either (1) of eminent models of virtuous princes imitated, or (2) to act the part of tyrannical kings, and accordingly to be punished by their subjects, or (3) of famous British warriors against the Romans, designed to set out the honour of the kingdom, and render the history more agreeable to the natives. (Ib. 242-5.)

And another proof still against him is the way in which he stuffed his history with fables, as instance, (1) the accounts he gives of the extent of their dominions; (2) his contradictions to the Roman writers in what passed in their own times; and (3) the fabulous stories copied from Roman and other historians. In fine, the details he gives of the lives, deaths, councils, wars, reigns, and all with their dates of the forty kings, at as great a length as if they had lived only a few years before himself, are a new proof of his fertile imagination.

BUCHANAN.

George Buchanan was born in Lennox, about the year of our Lord 1506. After his first studies in Scotland he went to Paris, where, after two years, he came home again, and studed philosophy at St. Andrews. It would be superfluous to refer minutely to Buchanan's History of Scotland; suffice it to say that it was built chiefly on Fordon's and Boece's foundations. For nearly two hundred years, during what was an uncritical period, it was received as a genuine history. Father Innes, in his Critical Essay published in 1729, was the first who really grappled and overturned their artificial history of forty Scottish kings—contrived by Fordon, brought into shape by Boece, and polished off by Buchanan.

Innes, who condoned the faults of Fordon and Boece, is rather severe on Buchanan. Pinkerton pertly says, "Innes' invaluable essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland forms a grand epoch in our antiquities, and he was the first to lead the way to rational criticism on them." He is not however without faults—a gross one is his wasting one hundred and fifty pages upon the controversy concerning Queen Mary and Buchanan's principles, &c., which was foreign to the work and distracting to the reader. (Enq., Vol. I., Intro., p. i.-vi.)

Innes, in concluding his criticism on Boece and Buchanan, says: "It only remains to treat now (1) of Boece's own labours, and of his bringing the fabric of our high antiquities to its full height and dimensions, by giving us, on the credit of his vouchers, besides other embellishments, a detailed account of the lives and actions of the first forty kings before Fergus the son of Erc, which Fordon and his continuators had left so lame and imperfect; (2) of the polishing and adorning this fabric by Buchanan, a more polite writer and more skilled architect, who, removing the rubbish of palpable fables, and reforming the irregularities that Boece's unskilful hand had left in the fabric, reduced it to a more perfect symmetry, and varnished it all over to render it more taking and agreeable to his countrymen, and more proper to support a cause in which he was embarked. (Crit. Ess., p. 756.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF ARGYLE.

THIS chapter traces the early history of the Scots and of their first colony. I have already shewn from probable evidence that the inhabitants till the Christian era were of one origin both in North and South Britain. The Roman invasion disorganised their primitive system, and after this we find them divided into many sections.

About the year 150 A.D., Ptolemy, the Egyptian geographer, in his map of North Britain, divides the country into nineteen districts, to be assigned to as many tribes, bearing these names.

To the district of Argyle he gives the name EPIDII, which at that time extended from the Mull of Kintyre indefinitely northward. Cosmo Innes says: "We may possibly recognise the sounds of a few rivers and friths in Ptolemy, but placed all confusedly; while his names of the tribes and of their cities give us no information at all. His nomenclature joins to nothing before or after. Ptolemy, no doubt, built on a foundation of truth, and may have known as much of our island as a London map-maker does of the interior of Japan and Patagonia. Richard of Cirencester (his expounder), if not a modern invention, cannot be quoted as an authority." (Scotland in the Middle Ages, pref. XI.-XII., Edin., 1860.)

We derive nothing but guess-work from the geography or history of Argyle till the arrival of the first Scots colony in the third century, which conferred on this district the name of its leader, Riada. But the real history of this people only commences after the settlement of their second colony, which took place under King Fergus II., son of Erc, about the beginning of the sixth century.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCOTS.

Pinkerton argues that the term Scot and Scyth was the same, that a colony of the Scyths came originally from Belgium to the South of Ireland about 300 years before our era. (Enq. Vol. II., Dis., p. 187.

Father Innes also shews from the evidence of ancient writers that Scyths and Scots were transmutable terms. He argues that this warlike nation, which was continually on the motion on the Continent both north and south of the British Isles, might have come to Ireland from the ancient Chersonesus Cymbrica, now Denmark, and Scandia in the north, or from the north end of Spain in the south, but not earlier than the Christian era. The first time we find the Scots mentioned by any ancient author yet known is in Amian Mercellin, towards the latter end of the fourth century. (Crit. Ess., pp. 515-539.) In this reference by Amian Mercellin, in A.D. 364, they are spoken of in conjunction with the Picts and Attacotts. Of the Scots, he says: "*Et Scotti per diversa vagantes multa populabuntur,*" which John Hill Burton translates, "And the Scots were great wanderers, peopling the earth." (Hist. Scot., Vol. I., p. 44.)

THEIR NAME.

There is a visible resemblance betwixt the names Scythae and Scotti, and only some difference in the pronunciation, very usual in the names of ancient nations. Thus as Gethi, Gethicus are the same as Gothi, Gothicus, so also from Scythae, Scythicus come Scoti, Scoticus. Gildas, in the sixth century, calls Scythiacus, Vallis, the passage through which the Scots used to invade the provincial Britons (Welsh), and Nennius, in the ninth century, uses promiscuously the names Scythia and Scoti for the same people. The Germans to this day call both Scyths and Scots by the name Scutten. The Welsh, in their ancient tongue, call both the nations of Scyths and Scots by the same name, Y-Scot. The Romans who were in possession of South Britain latinized the name of their new enemies of the Empire and called them Scoti; thus the name is not from the Scots themselves, nor from the Irish, in whose language it was never in use, nor is it among the Scottish Highlanders to this day, who denominate themselves Albanich, and sometimes those in the regions beyond Argyle, Cruithnich, Picts, or Caledonians. We thus see that the name is a foreign one, derived from whence they came, and perpetuated by the Welsh and Romans. (Crit. Ess., pp. 537-538.)

THEIR INFLUENCE IN IRELAND.

Whether the Scots arrived in Ireland before or after the Christian era is a matter of conjecture. But before the end of the fifth century they appear to have over-run the whole island and got the upper hand of the native Irish. In the confession or apology of Saint Patrick, written in the fifth century, and so the most ancient piece we have written in Ireland, he writes of "*Filii Scotorum*" and "*filiae Regulorum,*" which he repeats over again in his letter to Croticus, joining in both places Scotti and Reguli as being synonymous terms, and again "*Una benedicta Scota nobilis,*" etc., adding generally to the name Scottus that of Reguli or Nobilis; whereas he never calls, in those pieces, the native Irish but Hyberionae or Hybernigonae, as being the common and ordinary people. (Crit. Ess., p. 517.)

At the first appearance of the name of the Scots in history, we find them in arms come over in warlike expeditions to Britain, joined with the Picts invading the Roman Empire, over-running the provincials and giving work enough to the Roman legions; inspiring the same warlike temper into the old Irish, till by degrees the strength of the Scots came over and settled in North Britain, where they continued ever after in the same warlike temper; and by degrees united into one people with the Picts of Caledonia, gain ground upon the Saxons, maintain their country against the Danes, who had vanquished the Saxons; and for many ages defend their country and liberty against the united force of their powerful neighbours. (Crit. Ess., pp. 519-520.)

THE ROMAN WALLS IN NORTH BRITAIN.

The walls built by the Romans during their occupation of North Britain are among the greatest monuments that survive them.

Like the parallel lines of a map it is necessary to be minute with those boundaries, as they indicate where and when the Caledonians, Meatæ, Picts, Scots, and Attacots made their incursions and surged across this debatable land, first known as that of the Meats, afterwards as Valentia. It extended from the Clyde and Forth to the Solway and Tyne.

The following is an abridgement of Pinkerton's description of the Walls:—

I.—In the year 81 Agricola, as Tacitus informs us, raised a line of forts between the firths of Clyde and Forth.

II.—That frontier was quickly lost, and Hadrian thought proper in the year 121, to build a wall between the Solway and Tyne, thus retiring eighty miles.

III.—About the year 140, Antoninus Pius recovered the first barrier by the great success of his general Lollius Urbicus, and a wall was built on the line of Agricola's forts, between the Clyde and the Forth.

IV.—In 210, Severus again withdrew the boundary, and built a new wall between the Solway and Tyne. Pinkerton doubts this, as there is no evidence to shew it.

V.—In 367, the Emperor Valentian I., by his general Theodosius, seized the land between the walls, and erected it into a province by the name of Valentia. He strongly fortified its northern borders between the Clyde and the Forth.

VI.—Stilicho, minister of the young Emperor Honorian, as Claudian informs us, added fortifications to this barrier about 398, and sent forces to guard them, but they were recalled in 402, at the battle of Pollentum, so they left the poor provincials a prey to their enemies.

VII.—The Romans having abandoned Britain about the year 409, the Britons in 421 solicited their assistance against the Picts and the Scots. They arrived and repelled them, and caused the Britons to build a turf wall, in the march between the Clyde and the Forth, as the former wall had been thrown down.

VIII.—The last and most important wall ever built in Britain, according to Bede (which is also doubtful), was that raised by the Romans, who, again, under command of Gallio, came to assist the Britons against their old enemies the Picts and Scots, about the year 426. This was of solid stone, and built between the Solway and Tyne.

THE INCURSIONS OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS.

I will now note the incursions of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots, into this province from the time of arrival of the Romans till their final disappearance.

This debatable land was not known by any name till about half a century after its conquest. The province was first invaded and subjected by Julius Agricola in 82, who settled the marches, but the subjection lasted no longer than Agricola remained in the island. (Crit. Ess., pp. 30-31.)

It was after the wall of Hadrian was built in 121, and that of Antoninus in 140, that the new name of Meatæ began to arise for the nations between these walls. On the recall of Agricola in 85, the Caledonians and Meatæ enjoyed their liberty to the southern boundary for forty-three years, when Lollius Urbicus in 138 carried back the marches to the northern wall, which remained under Roman power for forty-five years. In 183, during the reign of the Emperor Commodus (Dio), the Caledonians and Meatæ broke in upon the Empire, and after harassing the provinces they continued in arms till Severus the emperor came in person against them in 207. In relating the expedition of Severus, Dio mentions the Meatæ and Caledonians as the only nations in Britain not subject to Rome. The former acted under the protection of the latter. (Enq., p. 42.) Severus over-ran both nations and exacted submission of them, but he was not well returned to York, after a loss of 50,000 of his army, when the Caledonians first, and then the Meatæ, shook off the yoke. Severus died in 211, and from that time forward, for nearly 160 years (370), it appears the Caledonians possessed themselves of a part of the Meatæ land, or rather united to the Meatæ and shared in their possessions to the south of the Firths of Clyde and Forth. (Crit. Ess., p. 31.)

After this we have no more reference in history to the Caledonians and the Meatæ. From this era the inhabitants in North Britain are known in Roman history by the new name of Picts, or Painted, and in the Irish annals by that of Cruithne, which signified the same thing. (Crit. Ess., p. 63.) The first intimation we have of the name Picti or Picts is by the orator Eumenius, in the year 296, which was the date of the first oration delivered in the presence of the

Roman Emperor Constantius Chlorus, and he therein speaks of the Picts and Irish (evidently the Scots) as the only enemies the Britains had known prior to the Romans. This reference here to the Romans must be understood as near to the time Eumenius spoke, as the Meatæ, in conjunction with the Caledonians, near this time were within the walls between the Clyde and the Forth and the Tyne and the Solway, and we have no record of the Britons of Strathclyde till the general Theodosia fortified Alcluith, or Dumbarton Castle, which he named Theodosia. This was considered by Bede and others the grand limit between the Britons and the Picts. The Irish, whom Eumenius in his oration speaks of along with the Picts as the only enemies the Britons had, doubtless were the Scots, who arrived in North Britain 38 years before this event, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter, and the first Roman writers who name the Scots, about half-a-century later, speak of them and the Picts as having wearied the provinces with their invasions *in times past.*

Ammianus Marcellinus, the first Roman writer that mentions the Scots, says: "In 360, towards the end of the reign of the Emperor Constantius in Britain, the Scots and Picts, two fierce peoples, having violated the peace, and broken into the fixed limits of the Empire in that island, were ravaging the provinces of it, which filled with terror the provincials, spent and wearied with their former invasions *in times past.*" (Crit. Ess., p. 643.)

Upon Valentinian I. coming to the empire, A.D. 364, he found among other Roman provinces invaded by the barbarous nations in their neighbourhood, those of Britain exposed to ths ravages not only of Picts and Scots, but that the example of their impunity had drawn also in upon the Britons other new enemies, to wit, the Saxons and Attacoti. (Crit. Ess., p. 648.)

The Picts and Scots advanced daily into the British provinces, and their numbers and boldness increasing with their success, killed Fallafandas, a Roman general, and Nectarides, count of the maritime coasts. At last, A.D. 367, the emperor receiving daily more terrifying accounts of those enemies in Britain, found it necessary to confide the conduct of that war to one of the most famous generals of the Empire, Theodosius, father to the first emperor of that name. He, having arrived in Britain with a powerful army, obliged the enemies to retire, and in a word, forced them out of the bounds of the Empire beyond the friths. (Crit. Ess., p. 644).

In A.D. 383 Maximus, having usurped the empire in Britain, before he left the island, repulsed with great vigour and overcame the Scots and Picts. He passed immediately over to Gaul, and surprised the Emperor Gratian, having carried over with him all the regular troops from Britain. In A.D. 398, the Scots and Picts having made use of the opportunity of Maximus' carrying along with him to Gaul the flower of the British youth and best troops, had made such great progress in ravaging the British provinces that these provinces were almost quite ruined, and lived in perpetual dread and terror of the Picts, who were joined not only by the Scots of Britain, but with new levies of Scots from Ireland. This account of the miserable condition of these provinces being brought to Stilicho, the Roman general under Honorius the emperor, he sent over new forces to Britain against the Scots and Picts, and caused the northern wall to be fortified anew against their irruption. (Ib. 652.) But these auxiliary forces did not remain long in Britain, for in A.D. 402, among the several troops which by Stilicho's order came to join him before the battle of Pollentum against the Goths, Claudian marks among others the Roman troops that guarded the walls in Britain in the extremity of the island against the irruptions of the Scots and Picts, and the removal of these troops gave their enemies a favourable opportunity of breaking in upon the provinces. (Crit. Ess., pp. 653-4.)

In A.D. 409 the Britons, after calling in vain for assistance against these enemies from the Romans, and encouraged, says Zozimus, by letters from the emperor Honorius to do the best they could do for themselves, resolved at last to shake off their dependence on the Empire, and endeavour to defend their country with their own forces, but they soon found the dismal effect of their presuming too much on their own forces, as appears by the relation of Gildas and Bede. (Crit. Ess., p. 654.)

In A.D. 422 the Britons, who had shaken off their dependence on the Empire in 409, finding by experience they were not able to defend their country against the Scots and the Picts, after having groaned some years under the oppression of these enemies, were forced to make new application to the Romans, who sent over to them forces which overcame the Scots and the Picts, and caused the northern wall between the friths to be repaired, and left the Britons to do for themselves. (Crit. Ess., p. 663.)

In A.D. 426 the Scots and the Picts leaving the wall, broke in over the friths upon the Britons, which obliged them to have recourse again to the Romans, who sent over new forces, who, after repulsing the enemies, caused the Northumberland wall to be repaired, and took leave of the Britons for the last time. Upon which the Picts took possession of all the extremities of the Roman part of the island, that is, of all the territories that composed the province of Valentia, and both the Scots and the Picts joined to attack the Northumbrians: and thus these northern enemies continued to pillage and oppress the Britons till they, after seeking in vain new succours from the Romans, called in at last the Saxons to their aid, who soon after turned their arms against them, pillaged the country and took possession of it, and forced the Britons, some of them to retire to corners of the island, others to abandon it. We have thus seen that the names Scots and Picts were co-eval, the Picts being another name for the native Caledonians. The Scots, as we shall further see, were a colony which arrived from Ireland, under their leader Cairbre Riada in the year 258. Very probably they were induced by the Picts to come over as allies to cope with them against their powerful neighbours the Romans and South Britons.

During their contendings with these enemies, they seem to have lived in mutual alliance, and held their conquests in common in the debatable ground. The northern part of the island was the indisputable home of the Picts. Although the Scots came only as helpers, and in a manner were unsettled and without any form of government, it appears they had lands assigned them by their allies, to wit, Argyle beyond Lochfyne, on which their leader Riada conferred his name, and the other branch—the Attacots—occupied east of Lochfyne to the river Leven. It seems that all the while the Picts were retaining their help for a selfish end, for when they finally got clear of the Romans in 426, they alone took possession of the territories vacated to their extremities, which composed the province of Valentia, and this will prepare us for their ungrateful conduct in expelling the Scots shortly thereafter to Ireland, who had faithfully co-operated with them for one hundred and fifty years.

Before passing to the next topic I may observe that the Picts, when left to their own resources, did not long retain their conquest of Valentia. They seem to have been driven to the district of Galloway, where they settled till the middle ages, and were known there as the Southern Picts. The Britons of the South extended beyond them on the west to the Clyde, and the Angles of Bernicia on the east to the Forth; and both retained these possessions till driven back to the Solway and the Tweed by Kenneth M'Alpin, after the union of the Scots and Picts in 843.

THE FIRST SCOTS COLONY—THE DALREUDINI.

The Venerable Bede says: "In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander they are to this day called Dalrudins; for in their language Dal signifies a part." (Bk. I., ch. i.)

The Reuda of Bede is the Reada of King Alfred's translations, and the Riado of the ancient Irish writers. (Enq., Vol. II., p. 61.) There are several fanciful derivations of the name Riada. Dr. Smith, in the old ecclesiastical statistics, calls him Cairbre Ruadh, or Cairbre of the red hair, who conferred his name on Dalruadhan, near Campbeltown.

Dr. Skene surnames him Righfhada, or Cairbre of the long arm. (Celtic Scot, Vol. I., p. 140.)

The translator of Bede calls him Ri-eta—the King of Eta, which no doubt has reference to Ossian's Poems. (Bk. I., Ch. i., Note.)

O'Conor, in his remarks on O'Flaherty's Ogygia, Dublin, 1775, and also in his Dissertations on the History of Scotland, Dublin, 1776, tells us who Riada was, and the time and occasion of his invasion of Albin. He says Carbre Riada was a prince of the Degads in Munster, being son of Conary II., and cousin of Cormac O'Cuin, the most celebrated of the Irish monarchs. When Conary II. was murdered, in 220, his three sons were minors. Carbre Riada, the youngest of them, distinguished himself early in having quelled a disturbance between two factions in the north-east part of County Antrim, when he seized their possessions and called them Dalriada, or the portion of Riada. He again shewed great bravery at the battle of Kinfebrat in A.D. 237, and on Cormac O'Cuin's succession to the Irish throne in 254, Carbre Riada was sent against the Cruthnii, or Picts, who were in possession of the north-west of Ulster, and had rebelled. He did not confine his conquest to Ulster, but in 258 carried the war to Albany, or Argyle, and the Scots that he led settled there. After his descendants had been in Albany for six generations (according to O'Conor, which Pinkerton says is surely the truth, Vol. II., p. 68) the Picts forced the whole colony in Britain to take flight into Ireland under their leader Eochad Munrevar, when they settled in the Irish Dalriada. But neither he nor his son Erc could obtain a re-establishment in North Britain. Nor was it effected till the beginning of the sixth century, when the sons of Erc again led the Scots there. It appears from this that the retreat of the first colony happened two generations before 503, or about 440 A.D., also that the Irish and British Dalriada was governed by the same family, and that the sons of Erc in the eight generations from Carbre Riada re-established this colony in Argyle. (Enq., Vol. II., pp. 63-4.)

During the sojourn of the first colony of Irish Scots in North Britain, there was a tribe or nation occupying the north side of the Clyde, extending from Lochfyne on the west to the river of Leven on the east. This region comprehended the whole of Cowal and the greater part of Dumbartonshire.

This people was called the

ATTACOTTI.

Pinkerton says most writers on British antiquities have been puzzled to divine who the Attacotti were, and none has hitherto settled this point. I am fully convinced that Attacotti was neither more nor less than the name given by the northern Cumraig or Welsh to the Dalreudini. The name in that language means simply, Hither-Scots, or Scots remaining in Britain. The "s" is quite a servile letter, and not required. To Ptolemy's map of North Britain, published in the second century, Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century, has added the Attacotti and the Damnii Albani, nations unknown to Ptolemy, and Richard is certainly right in their positions. He places the Attacotti on the north of the Firth of Clyde, and the Damnii Albani just above them. Now, Bede places the Dalreudini, on their first arrival, exactly in that very region. (Enq., Vol. II., pp. 72-3-4.) Bede's words are: "There is a very large gulf of the sea (the Clyde) which formerly divided the nation of the Picts from the Britons (Welsh), which gulf runs from the west very far into the land, where to this day stands the strong city of the Britons, called Alcluith (now Dumbarton Castle). The Scots arriving on the north side of this bay settled themselves there." (Ecc. Hist. Bk. I., Ch. 1.)

Roman writers, who evidently borrowed the names of both Scots and Attacotti from the Britons or Welsh who lived contiguous to them, kept up this distinction while they occupied Britain; but when they had abandoned it for ever, the name Attacotti also disappears, and the Scots afterwards are known either by their own name, or by that of the Dalriads. Riada, the leader of the first colony of the Scots in 258, was considered the founder of this race in Argyle. The second colony arrived there about the beginning of the sixth century, led by Loarn Fergus and Angus, the sons of Erc; but although they and their descendants often distinguished themselves as potent kings, yet they never supplanted the patronymic of Riada.

In the annals of Ulster for three hundred and sixty years (626-988), we find the Scots of Argyle known by his name.

We have recently seen that about the year 440, the first colony of the Scots, under Eochad Munrevar, had been expelled by the Picts to Ireland. There are no reasons given, but it is probable that the Picts, now being freed from the Romans, and having driven the Britons to extremities, became ungrateful enough to get quit of their faithful allies, who had been co-eval with them, under their new name Picts, and had shared their troubles and trials for upwards of one hundred and fifty years.

The first colony of Scots—being merely under a leader—had hitherto no bond of union except to be led against the common enemies of Caledonia.

When peace was restored it is probable that they became disorganised, and some of them would be induced to enlist under the Roman banners. We find this was the case with the Attacotti.

In the *Notitia Imperii,* a work of the fifth century, numerous bodies of them appear in the Roman army. One body was in Illyricum—their ensign was a kind of mullet; another at Rome—their badge a circle; and the Attacotti Honoriane were in Italy. (Enq., Vol. II., p. 72.) This is the last we hear of this division of the Scots colony.

The principal part of the other division was located at modern Campeltown, and the place still retains their name—Dalruan.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND SCOTS COLONY, UNDER THE SONS OF ERC.

THE second colony of Scots arrived in Argyle, according to Thomas Innes and others, in 503. Dr Skene, in the preface to the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, says they arrived in 498. But in his introduction to the Book of the Dean of Lismore he says their settlement took place in Argyle in 503.

We have seen that the first colony had been expelled from Albin by the Picts about half a century before this era.

It is not clear whether the second colony had entered the Dalriadic district of their predecessors by fair means or by force. We read in some versions of the annals of Ulster of much fighting, of the M'Erc's of Dalriada being victorious in battle in the years 483, 496, and 498 *(Celto Normanicæ)*, but whether this had happened in Albin or Eirin it is difficult to say.

The first colony, though destitute of any form of government, yet being connected for about one hundred and fifty years with this district of Dalriada, doubtless would have left many relations there, and very probably those would encourage their friends to come and take permanent possession of the district.

This second colony came under the leadership of the three sons of Erc—Fergus, Loarn, and Angus—who seem to have divided the territory amicably among them. The race of Angus occupied the islands of Jura and Islay, their probable stronghold being Dunyveg or Dun-naomhaig in Islay. The race of Loarn occupied the district of Lorn, the chief stronghold was Dunolaigh, near Oban. Fergus's original possession appears to have been in South Kintyre, a part of which is still called "Tir Fergus." He had a son called Domangart, who had two sons called Gabhran and Comgall. The race of Gabhran occupied Argyle proper, Knapdale and Kintyre. They had three strongholds: that on the north beyond the Crinan Canal is called Dunatt, which yet shows the remains of a strong fortification of a primitive type; that in the middle was called Tarpert Boitter, now Tarbert; and that of Aberto or Dunaverty in the extreme south of the peninsula.

The race of Comgall inhabited the district of Cowal. This name was also spelled Congel and Comhghall. Comgall having given his name to the district, doubtless had his residence there, which probably was the Castle of Dunoon. Dr. M'Kay's remarks on the name and origin of Dunoon may be quoted here, He says: "In the Gaelic language the word *aoidh* means a stranger or guest. Its plural is *aoidhea*, and there is no etymological conjecture on the subject more natural than to suppose that the name Dunoon originated in being denominated in Gaelic Dun-nan-aoidhea or Dun-aoidhean, the dun or place resorted to by strangers or guests. There are ample evidences on record of the castle being in existence in the twelfth century, when the influence and power of the Scottish monarchy, properly so called, began to be practically exercised in this portion of the Scottish dominion. But we are inclined to ascribe to it an origin many centuries earlier than that period.

Were we to follow conjecture, or to form a theory founded on tradition, language and local usages, obsolete Irish terms such as *lann, mur, bordelann, murlann,* being the names of the pertinents around the castle, and *murlannich,* or vassal retainers—in inquiries of this kind these terms are not without their value—we would assign to this fortalice as the probable latest date of its foundation, the period of the Dalriadic colony obtaining possession or sovereignty in Cowal, in the sixth century.

Although this may appear to some but slender foundation for a historical theory, yet, when considered with the ordinary local usages and speech—the term in its component part being foreign to the native dialect, and manifestly Irish—together with the popular idea attached to it, it amounts in our apprehension to no mean historical evidence that the castle had its remote period of Irish or rather Dalriadic sway, and that that colony very probably were the strangers after all who gave Dunoon its present existing name." (New Ecc. Stat. Par. Dunoon.)

The original stronghold of the descendants of Erc would be thus Dunaomhaig, Dunaverty, Dunatt, Dunolly, and Dunoon.

THE BOUNDARIES OF ANCIENT DALRIADA AND THE DONATION OF IONA TO COLUMBA.

There is no part of ancient North Britain that seems to have been more misrepresented, or less understood by our modern writers, than the extent of Pictish and Scottish dominions in old times (Crit. Ess. pp. 79-80); and there are few points in Highland history that have engendered more controversy than the donation of the island of Iona to Saint Columba. Before I proceed to sketch the deeds of the royal race of Erc, I shall endeavour to examine these two points in two sections.

Section I.

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SCOTS AND THE PICTS.

Hector Boece reduces the Pictish dominions within very small bounds, since he tells us that from the beginning of the Scots monarchy in Britain, the Scots, besides the western provinces and isles, were possessed of all the northern countries beyond the Grampian Hills, or Cairn of Mounth, and sets down the distribution of these northern parts made by Fergus I. among the nobles, three centuries before the Incarnation, and in this he is generally followed by the Scottish writers that immediately came after him. (Crit. Ess., pp. 79-80.)

Later writers, amongst whom are Cambden, Pinkerton, and Skene, circumscribe into a small compass the extent of the Scottish kingdom; Cambden confines the Scottish dominion in Saint Columba's time to Argyle proper, Knapdale and Kintyre, and some of the western islands towards Ireland, and extends the Pictish territory to Lorn, Mull, and Iona—(Cambden's In Scotia). Pinkerton says: "It appears that Loch Linny was the northern boundary of Dalriada, for Mull and Iona remained to the Picts—Morven and the rest of that part of Argyleshire, which lies north of Loch Linny, was in every appearance possessed by the Piks, as the rest of the North of Scotland." (Enq., Vol. II., pp. 96-7.) He is followed in this by Dr Skene in his prize essay, "The Highlanders," which idea is commented upon in his preface to "The Book of the Dean of Lismore," "The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," and in his "Celtic Scotland." The Latin Chronicles of 1165 give the boundaries of Dalriada in the year 503—*Fergus filius Eric ipse fuit primus qui semine Chonare suscepit regnum Alban, id est, a monte Drumalban usque ad mare Hibernie et ad Inchegal Iste regnavit iii. annis.*

Drumalban—a mountain chain extending from Loch Lomond in Dumbartonshire to Loch Broom in Sutherlandshire—being thus the boundary between the Picts and the Scots.—(Skene.)

In a charter of the earldom of Moray, of the fourteenth century, published by Lord Kaimes, it would seem Argyle extended at that time to Ross-shire. The words of the charter are: "*Per mare usque ad marchios boreales Ergadiæ quae est comitis de Ros.*" (Enq., Vol. II., p. 98.)

Section II.

THE DONATION OF IONA TO SAINT COLUMBA.

The turning point or extent northward of the Dalriadic territory rests on the donation of the island of Iona to Columba. Cambden, Pinkerton, Skene, and others, who form their opinions from Bede, maintain that it was the gift of Brude, the son of Meilcon, king of the Picts.

Bede's words are: "The island of Hii belongs to Britain, being divided from it by a small arm of the sea, but having long since been given by the Picts to the Scots monks, because they had received the faith of Christ through their preaching. Columba came into Britain in the ninth year of Bridius, who was the son of Meilochon, the powerful king of the Pictish nation, and he converted that nation to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example, whereupon he also received of them aforesaid island." (Bede's Ecc. Hist., Book III., chaps. 3-4.)

This incident is also referred to in the Saxon Chronicle, which says: "This year, 565, Ethelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy Pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the two-and-thirtieth year of his reign; and Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ. They are dwellers in the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii (Iona), therein are five hides of land as men say. There Columba built a monastery, and he was Abbot there thirty-seven years, and there he died when he was seventy-two years old."

The compilers of the Saxon Chronicle are uncertain authorities, and are seldom referred to in support of this transaction. It is on Bede's History that those above named base their assertions.

Father Innes clearly demonstrates that Iona was gifted to Columba by Conal the son of Comgall. His words are: "From this account that Adamnan gives us of the bounds of the Scottish and Pictish dominions in Saint Columba's time it follows that since the island of Iona was, as it were, in the centre of the kingdom of the Scots, composed of the islands and mainland as above, and separated from the Pictish dominions by sea and land, it could not have been the Picts, as Bede relates, but must needs have been the Scots that gave it to Saint Columba and his disciples; which is further evident from this, that Adamnan (who was Abbot of Ycolmkill and on the place, and wrote earlier than Bede) never speaks of the Pictish but as a country quite distinct from that where Saint Columba dwelt in Ycolmkill. These are his words: "Whilst the holy man, Saint Columba, made some stay in the country of the Picts," &c. Again, "Whilst the holy man staid some months in the Pictish provinces, he was obliged to pass over the water of Ness or Lochness." He has much the same expression (c. 32, and elsewhere), and always supposes the country of the Picts a strange country, where Saint Columba used to travel and remain only as his mission called him; whereas if Iona had belonged to the Picts he would never have mentioned their country as a distinct dominion where he was from home, as he nowhere mentions the country of the Scots in Britain as a strange country in regard of his monastery of Iona. On the contrary, we find the island of Iona always mentioned by Adamnan as being in the kingdom of the Scots in Britain, and the inhabitants of it as subjects of the kings of the Scots: There it was that Saint Columba inaugurated Aydan king of the Scots; there Saint Columba prayed for victory to King Aydan as their sovereign; there King Aydan consults the Saint as to which of his sons was to live to be his successor. In fine, the northern Picts were not Christians when Saint Columba came to Britain;

whereas, the Scots, being Christians *long before,* received him with all respect, and gave him a place of abode; and, accordingly, at his first landing in Britain, he applied to Conal, king of the Scots, by whom there is no doubt the monastery was founded, and in effect the most authentic annals that the Irish have, such as those of Tighernac and of Ulster, mention expressly that the island of Hy or Iona was given to Saint Columba by King Conal, the son of Comgall, and there is no reason to distrust these annals in a matter of this kind. As to Bede's ascribing to the Picts the donation of Iona to Saint Columba, he being a stranger, and living at a distance from the Picts, and having had his accounts of Ycolmkill only by hearsay, his authority on this subject ought not to be put in the balance with that of Adamnan, who was himself Abbot of Ycolmkill, near Saint Columba's time, and of his successors, and, besides, had his information from those who lived with the Saint, and from the originals in the monastery itself." (Crit. Ess., pp. 88-89-90.)

Cosmo Innes corroborates his namesake. On this point he says: " Bede, a Benedictine monk of Jarrow, in Northumberland —who was ignorant of what was occurring around him—was more inaccurate of what he writes of remote affairs. He tells us Columba obtained his little refuge of Hii from Bridius, son of Meilochon, a most powerful king of the Picts. Now, we have this Brude, the son of Meilcon, in our *poor roll* of the Pictish kings; and his reign corresponds with the ascertained era of Saint Columba; but it would overthrow our most settled notions of geography and history to allow that Iona was of the Pictish territory. It was in the very heart of that district which Bede himself, and all our authorities, require us to believe was the original seat of the Scots on their arrival from Ireland; and we cannot read Adamnan's history otherwise than establishing that Iona was subject to the princes of the Scots. We have, therefore, no scruple to believe that Iona was given to Saint Columba by Conal, the son of Comgall, king of the Scots." (Scotland in the Middle Ages, pref. xii., xiii., Edin., 1860.)

With such circumstantial and conclusive evidence of Iona being the gift of Conal, the son of Comgall, it is marvellous how Cambden, Pinkerton, Skene, and others insist that the island was a Pictish donation. The only reason that can be assigned is their foregone conclusion to aggrandize the power of the Picts, and minimise that of the Scots. No doubt, being swayed by the story of Bede, they endeavour to fortify the same with the fabulous account in Adamnan's history of Saint Columba's journey to Inverness, where he is said to have converted King Brude, the son of Meilcon, the reputed Pictish donor of Iona. It also gives a glowing account of Brude's royal retinue and fortifications, and of the miracles wrought there by Columba on Broichan the Druid, &c.

These monkish stories, when rendered into plain English, require more faith than common-sense to receive them.

* It is a painful duty to doubt any fragment of our scanty Highland history, but fiction must give way to truth, and I think there is direct evidence to show that this part of Adamnan's history is an afterthought of the monks of a later date, evidence of which I shall here adduce.

Firstly. There are some who think that Adamnan's history is not genuine, among whom is J. A. Giles, editor of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England, published by Bohn, London, in 1847. In a foot note he says: "Adamnan is the reputed author of a 'Life of Saint Columba;' but I have strong doubts of Adamnan having written it. I purpose shortly to publish the original text." (Bede, Book V., ch. 16, p. 264.)

Secondly. Pinkerton, who is a great stickler for the Picts, shows that Saint Columba's journey to Inverness is rather doubtful. He says Adamnan, in a remarkable passage of his life of Saint Columba, *not* to be found in the early editions, but published by Bollandus in his edition about the year 1660 from a fuller manuscript, and which also occurs in the invaluable MS. in the King's library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, tells us that the hills of Drum Albayn were the boundaries between the Picts and the Scots." (Enq., Vol. I., Part III., p. 316.)

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* Appendix A.

From this we see that the very way in which Columba is said to have gone to Inverness is *omitted* in the early MSS., but supplied in those of the Middle Ages.

Thirdly. A more conclusive proof is of an earlier history of Columba's than Adamnan's, which makes no reference to the Saint's journey to Inverness.

There are two biographies of the life of Saint Columba written in Latin by his successors in the Abbacy of Iona, viz., Cumin, and Adamnan. Cumin, *the fair*, was the eighth Abbot of Iona. He wrote the life of Columba about the year 657, or 62 years after the death of the Saint. Adamnan, the tenth Abbot of Iona, wrote his history 38 years later, or 100 years after the death of Columba." (Bede's Life of Columba, app. to pref., p. 49.)

Both the memoirs, I presume, were written from materials preserved which appear to have been carefully treasured there until the invasion of the Scandinavians about the end of the eighth century, when we read of the shrines or relics of Callumkill being carried for safety to and fro between Iona and Ireland. (Ann. of Tig. and Ulst.)

Cumin having thus preceded Adamnan as Abbot of Iona he would have those materials for his history fresh before him. He would also have come in contact with many living people, who would have been eye-witnesses of the life and labours of

Columba, but who must have passed away before Adamnan wrote his memoir.

Yet, with all these advantages that Cumin had over Adamnan, Cumin makes not a single reference to the Saint's journey to Inverness, the conversion of the Picts, and the overthrow of Broichan the Druid. These marvels being the climax of Columba's mission to North Britain, if they had been known in Cumin's time he would not have overlooked them. Dr. MacLauchlan, in his Church History, is surprised at this omission, and says, "It is a curious thing that Cumin the fair in his life of Columba, and he wrote at an earlier period than Adamnan, makes no mention of the conversion of the Pictish king—his silence on the subject is very remarkable. Whether really the mission to the Pictish king assumed less dimensions in the days of the immediate successors of the Saint, or whether Cumin judged nothing worthy of relation but miracles, it is hard to say." ("The Early Scottish Church," p. 155, Edin., 1865.)

This conjecture of the doctor will not hold good; although Cumin abounded in the marvellous, he did not forget mundane affairs. In chapter xxv. of his work, he says Columba appeared to King Oswald, when sleeping on a pillow in his tent, while hesitating in a state of readiness for war, and ordered him to proceed to battle against Catlon, king of the Britons. The king obeyed, and gained the victory, and returning afterwards is ordained by God emperor of all Britain, so that whole race, formerly unbelieving, is baptized. Columba is also said to foretell in the said chapter the successes of King Aidan in the battle of the Miathi, but he never refers to Brude, king of the Picts, Broichan his Druid, or the river Ness.

Dr. Skene uses another argument in favour of the Pictish theory of the donation of Iona, or rather in favour of the power of King Meilcon. He says—"In the year in which Gauran died the Scots of Dalriada were driven out of Pictland by Bruidhe, son of Mailcon, king of the Picts. And from this date their designation was changed from that of Alban to that of Dalriada." (Pref. Chron. of Picts and Scots.)

This event is rather indefinitely chronicled in the Irish annals. They do not say where the Scots were driven from, or to, and it would appear that Gauran died a natural death, and not in battle.

The MS. in British Museum (see Pinkerton's Enquiry), says —" 557, *Et fuga ante filium Maelcon; et mors Gabhran Mac Domangart.*"

Tighernac quotes this event three years later—" 560, *Mors Gaurani filii Domangardi, et Albani, a Brude's filio Milchuonis, Rege Pictorum, in fugam, conversi.*" (Eng., Vol. II., p. 112.)

Or, take Skene's version of Tighernac—" 560, *Bass Gabrain mic Domangairt Ri Alban Teichedh do Albanchaib ria m-Bruidi mic Maelchon Ri Cruithnech.*" (Chron. of Picts and Scots, p. 67.)

To say that the Scots were confined to Dalriada, after their expulsion in 557, is gratuitous, as Dalriada is not mentioned in said annals, nor for 69 years afterwards, and then not as a district, but as a nation, it is referred to—" 626, *Bellum Arda Coran Dalriadi victores erunt.*" (Battle of Arda Coran the Dalriads were conquerors.)

The fact is the boundaries of the Scots and the Picts were so flexible and indefinitely kept, that they contracted and expanded according to the power of either nation. Domangart, the son of Fergus, was called " Righ Alban ;" Comgall, the son of Domangart, was called " Rig Alban ;" and Gabhran, the son of Domangart, was called " Ri Alban," which meant in every case Argyle. If the Irish annals meant that they were kings of all North Britain, where were the powerful Picts then, and how did they so suddenly drive them from the extreme corners of the north into Dalriada or Argyle. It would thus seem that the repulse was of small moment, for the very year Gauran died (560) he is succeeded by his nephew, Conal the son of Comgall, who, in his fifth year (565), according to the Irish annals, gave Iona to Saint Columba.

King Conal reigned without any interruption fifteen or sixteen years.

The Duan Albanach says of him—

> " Tri bliadhna fa cuig gun roinn
> Ba ri Connall mac Comhghall."

Although Conal lived a peaceable and serene life, not so his cousin Aidan who succeeded him. Pinkerton says—" This Aidan is the most noted of all the Dalriadic kings; and Adomnan, Bede, and the Irish annals throw considerable light on his reign. The Duan calls him Aidan of the extended territories, and he certainly carried the Dalriadic power to a height from which it ever after declined, till Kenneth ascended the throne of Pikland. (Enq., Vol. II., p. 114.)

We see from the foregoing that the Scots were neither humbled nor confined to Dalriada after the repulse of 557-560, as Skene would have us believe. We may therefore infer: (1) That the gift of the island of Iona to Saint Columba was made by Conal the son of Comgall, king of the Scots. (2) That Saint Columba's journey to Inverness is evidently an addition to Adamnan's memoir, by monks of the Middle Ages. (3) That Righ Albuin only meant Argyle, as seen above in one of our old Chronicles, consequently they could not be driven out of Pictland. (4) That the boundaries of the Picts and Scots at this time were so flexible as to yield to either party in power; that there is no proof that the Picts encroached on Dalriada, but sufficient to shew that the Scots went beyond this boundary.

With this necessary digression I now proceed to give particulars of the Dalriadic race, and for the sake of connection it will be necessary to trace the different branches of this family as they appeared in kingly power, more especially till their union with the Picts under Kenneth M'Alpin.

The Government publications of the Chronicles of the Scots and the Picts, printed in Edinburgh in the year 1867, place the annals of our early history in the hands of the public. To these documents there is a preface and a copious index by the editor, Dr. Skene, with which the early deeds of our nation, when left to speak for themselves, will enable the reader to examine and form his own opinion.

Shortly after the arrival of the sons of Erc in Argyle, Albuin or present Scotland had been inhabited by four distinct nations, viz.:—The Irish Scots inhabited Dalriada or Argyle. Beyond Drumalban the Picts occupied the remainder of Scotland, north of the Forth and the Clyde. The Angles of Bernicia extended their territories on the east from the Humber to the Forth, and the Britons on the west from Wales to the Clyde. (Bede's Ecc. Hist.)

THE KINGDOM OF DALRIADA FROM 503 TO 843.

I have already referred to the arrival of the sons of Erc in Argyle in 503, and of the amicable way in which they had divided the district among them. But though each occupied his allotted part for several generations, at first they seem to have been subject to one of their leaders as king of the whole race.

Their first king was Fergus Mor MacErc. He reigned three years over them "from Drumalban to the Irish sea and Inchegall" (Hebrides). Fergus was succeeded by his son, Domangart, who reigned five years. Domangart was succeeded by his son, Comgall, who reigned twenty-four years. The Duan Albanach says of him—

"A xxiiii. gun troid
Do Chomgall MacDomangart."

Twenty-four years without battle
To Comgall, son of Domangart.

He was succeeded by his brother Gabhran, who had a prosperous reign of twenty-two years. In the year in which he died the Scots had a repulse from Brude, son of Mealcon. Gabhran was succeeded by his nephew Conal, the son of Comgall, In the third year of his reign, Saint Columba came to Britain, and in the third or fifth year of his reign, he gave the island of Iona to the Saint. The Duan says of Conal—

"Tri bliadhna fa cuig gun rionn
Ba ri Connal MacComgall."

Three years five time without interruption
Was King Conal, the son of Comgall.

His son Duncan attempted to succeed him as king of Dalriada, but his right was disputed by his cousin Aidan, the son of Gabhran, when a battle ensued in 574 or 576, in which Duncan and many of his followers were slain. "*Cath Delgon a Cindtire in quo Donchadh Mac Connail mic Comgaill acus alii de sociis filiorum Garbhain cicedurant.*"—(Tighernac). The Annals of Ulster call this battle "*Bellum Telocho i Cuinntire.*"

Aidan thus having triumphed over his rival, succeeded Conal, and was solemnly crowned by Saint Columba. He reigned thirty-four years, during which time he fought several other battles. In 582, *Bellum Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan Mac Gabhran* (Annals of Ulster). Slamannan in Linlithgowshire (Skene). In 590, *Cath Leithrig la Aedhan mic Gabhran* (Tighernac). Leirg is a common name in many parts parts of Argyle. In 598, *Jugulacio filiorum Aedan, i, Bran acus Domangart acus Eochach find, acus Artuir, i, cath chirchind in* *quo victus est Aedhan* (Tighernac). Probably at Kirkintilloch (Skene). In 600, *Bellum Saxonum in quo victus est Aedhan* (Annals of Ulster). The Annals of Ulster, in 606 say: "*Mors Aedain meic Gabrain.*"

Aidan was succeeded by his son Eocha Buidhe, who reigned seventeen years. He was succeeded by his son Conad Cerr (Kenneth sinister), who reigned only three months, when he was slain by Mailcaich mac Scannail, king of the Picts (Annals of Ulster).

Conad Cerr was succeeded by his son Fearchair, who reigned sixteen years. Fearchair was succeeded by Donald Brec, mac Eocha Buidhe, who reigned fourteen years, or rather four years, as we shall see afterwards. In the last year of his reign (642), he fought a battle at Straith Cairinn (Strathcarron), with Hoan, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, and was there slain. (Tighernac.)

For thirty-four years after the death of Donald Brec, Dalriada seems to have been subject to the Britons of Strathclyde. During this subjugation the following kings nominally reigned over Dalriada—642 to 676. They are given in the Gaelic list, but omitted from the earlier Latin lists. Their names are as follow:—Conal Crandomna and Dunchad Mac Duban, Domnal Donn, Mailduin Mac Connall.

Ferchar fada, who was head of the rival house of Loarn, and according to O'Flaherty, the eighth in descent from Loarn, appears to have taken the lead in restoring the independence of the Scots. He died in 697, after a reign of twenty-one years. At his death he left three sons, Ainbhceallach, Selbhach, and Ewan; of whom the first named succeeded his father, and reigned only one year, when it appears his brother Selbhach dispossessed him. The Annals of Ulster say: In 698 Dunolly was burnt, and Ainbhceallach, the son of Ferchar, was expelled the kingdom, and taken bound to Ireland. "*Combustio*

Duinonlaigh expulsio Ainfceallach filii Ferchar de regno et vinctus ad Hiberniam vehitur." (Ann. Ulst.)

For twenty-nine years afterwards Selbhach ruled Dalriada with a high hand, and also fought several battles. At first he seems to have met with some resistance from his brother's sympathisers, to which he retaliated, as three years after his brother's expulsion he destroyed Dunolly. "*Destructio Duinonlaigh apud Selbhach.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 704, we learn that the Dalriadans were slaughtered at a place called in the Annals of Ulster, Valle Limnae, and by Tighernac, Glenlemnae—Vale of Leven.—(Skene.) Not many years afterwards several engagements took place between the Scots of Dalriada and the Britons of Strathclyde, whose stronghold was Ailcluaith or Dumbarton Castle, when the tables were turned against the Britons. In 710, a battle took place between the race of Comgall, that is the inhabitants of Cowal, and the Picts, when two of the sons of Nechton, the son of Doirgarto, were slain. "*Imbairecc apud genus Comgaill ubi duo filii Nechtan meic Doirgarto jugulati sunt.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 711, the Britons and the Dalriadans fought a battle at Loirg-Eclat, where the Britons were conquered. "*Congreisio Brittonum et Dalriadha for Loirg Eclat ubi Brittons devicti.*" (Tighernac.)

In 712, Selbhach besieged the Castle of Dunaverty. "*Absessio Aberto apud Selbacam.*" (Ann. of Ulst.) And in the same year Tairpirt Boetter, the other stronghold of the race of Gabhran in Kintyre was burnt. "*Combustio Tairpirt Boetter.*" (Ann. Ulst.) I presume this was the ancient royal castle of Tarbert, Lochfyne, which was of so much importance in the days of Edward I. and Robert Bruce.

In 714, Selbhach rebuilt Dunolly, and his daughter Ailen destroyed it. "*Dunollaig construitur apud Selbacum. Ailen na ingen struibitur.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 717, an engagement took place between the Scots and the Britons at a place called Minvirce, where the Britons were overcome. "*Congressio Dalriati acus Britonum in lapide qui vocator Minviree et Britons devicti sunt.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 719, Ainbhceallach, after being in exile for twenty-one years, returns from Ireland, apparently with the object of recovering his lawful kingdom, and has a pitched battle with his brother Selbhach at a place called Finnghlinne, where Ainbhceallach was slain. This battle was fought on the stream in Finglen in Lorn. The place of battle is still called Ath-na-fola, or the ford of blood. "*Cath Finnglinne itir da meic Fearchair fota in qui Ainbhceallach jugulatus .est die quinte ferie. Id. Septembris.*"—(Tighernac.) In the following month of the same year a naval battle was fought at Ardeanesbi, between Donchad becc rex cinntire (of the race of Gabhran) and Selbhach, when Duncan was defeated. "*Cath maritimum Arddeanesbi etir Dunchadh m-becc cum genere Gabrain acus Selbac cum genere Loairn acus versum est super Selbacum ii. Non. Octobris, die iii. ferie in quo quidam comites corruerunt.*" —(Tighernac.) In 723 Selbhach entered a monastery. "*Clericatus Selbhach.*"—(Ann. Ulst.)

In 727 a battle was fought at Ross-feochan, between Selbhach and Eachdach, the grandson of Domnal Brec, but the result is not given. "*Congressio Irrois-foichnae (Ross-feochan,* Skene*) ubi quidam ceciderunt den dibh Airgiallaibh* (of the two Airgiallas) *inter Selbacam acus familiam Echdach nepotis Domhnaill.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 730 Selbhach mac Ferchair, after having ruled Dalriada for about twenty-nine years, died. "*Selbhach mac Fercair mortuus est.*" (Ann. Ulst.)

In 731 his footsteps were followed by his turbulent son Donald, whose first act was to burn the castle of Tarbert. "*Combustio Tairpirt Boittir apud Dungal.*" (Ann. Ulst.) In the same year a battle was fought between the Scots and the Picts at Murbulg in Dalriada, where the Picts were defeated. "*Cath itir cruithnui acus Dalriada in Murbulg ubi cruithniu devicti.*" (Tighernac.)

In 733 Donald disgraced himself by plundering and violating religious houses on the coast of Ireland. "*Dungal mac Selbaich dehoneravit.*" (Ann. Ulst.) In the same year Muredac, son of Ainbhceallach, the lineal descendant of Ferchar fada, assumed the kingdom. "*Muredac mac Ainfceillach regnum generis Laoirnd assumet.*" (Ann. Ulst.) He seems to have come from Ireland to establish his right to the kingdom of Dalriada.

In 736 Angus, the son of Fergus, king of the Picts, laid waste the kingdom of Dalriada, seized Dunat, burnt Creic, and put Dungal and Ferdach, the two sons of Selbhach, in chains. (Ann. Ulst.)

In 741 the battle of Drumcathmail, between the Picts and Dalriads, took place, when the Dalriads were beaten by Angus MacFergus. There seem to have been two engagements under this date. "*Bellum Drumacathmail inter Criuthniu et Dalriati for Innrechtac. Percussio Dalriatai la Oengus Mac Ferguso.*" (Ann. Ulst.) Tighernac makes no reference to this event.

THE ALLEGED CONFUSION.

Dr Skene says, for upwards of one hundred years after this event there is the greatest confusion in the history of the Dalriadic kings. On the one hand the Gaelic lists of Flann Mainistreach and the Duan Albanach of the Eleventh Century vary very much from the Latin list of a later date.

The learned Doctor sympathised with the former and characterises the Latin lists as "the later form of the Scottish fable." He further says, "The compilers of the Latin list suppressed the conquest of Dalriada by Oengus Mac Fergus, and the century of the Pictish rule in that kingdom by placing the reigns of the last four kings a century later and interpolating kings before them to fill up that vacant period." (Chron. Picts and Scots, chap. vi.)

THESE GRAVE CHARGES INVESTIGATED.

The grave charges of suppressing a conquest—interpolating kings to fill up a blank period—inverting four kings from 736 to 836, to cover over a century of fable—are enough to condemn for ever any history.

These accusations of Dr. Skene are not new discoveries. Pinkerton, in his "Enquiry" about a century earlier, takes up almost the same grounds. The only additional evidence Dr. Skene adduces is hints from the Legends of the Saints, which he admits "are not referred to as documents of historic authority." (Chron. Picts and Scots. Pref. clxiii.)

PINKERTON'S THEORIES.

Before I proceed to investigate Skene's allegations, I shall make a few observations on Pinkerton's theories of the revolution of this period in Dalriada. He magnifies the conquest of Dalriada by Ungust, son of Vergust, in 739 and 743, and says from this date the history of Dalriada is annihilated.

He then extends his theories of this period over forty-nine pages of his "Enquiry," commencing with these words, "These events call for a pause in order to investigate a curious and important point in our history, namely, what line of princes held the sceptre at the time the kings of Dalriada are said to have acceded to the Pictish throne." He says: "We are unhappily in the greatest darkness just before the morning breaks in the reign of Kenneth, the son of Alpin."

There is reason to infer that Ungust, king of Pikland, upon his conquest of Dalriada, appointed a sovereign—Aod Fin—and that this sovereign was neither of the house of Lorn nor that of Argyle. Of what race then was he? Common-sense and the usual practice in such cases dictate that Aod was of the Pikish royal race; and in all probability son of Ungust. But upon the whole, the genealogy of Kenneth is lost—the name of the father of Alpin the father of Kenneth—I will venture to say is lost beyond all recovery. He concludes: "From 739 to 843 is the obscure part of Dalriadic history; and no pains should be spared to investigate it."

We see from the above extracts the curious way in which Pinkerton handles this tangled skein.

(1). He magnifies the conquest of Ungust by his almost annihilating the Dalriadic race and its history.

(2). He infers that in all probability Aod Fin was a son of Ungust, King of Pikland, but gives no proof.

(3). Yet, after all, the genealogy of Kenneth, son of Alpin, is utterly lost, so that his grandfather can never be ascertained.

(4). Although he paused to investigate what line of princes held the Dalriadic sceptre at the time the kings of Dalriada are said to have acceded to the Pictish throne, yet he left it as obscure as he found it, and says that "no pains should be spared to investigate it."

SKENE'S ALLEGATIONS.

Dr. Skene says: "The list of the Scottish kings which thus diverge so radically from each other consists, on the one hand, of the lists contained in the 'Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach' and in the 'Albanic Duan,' and, on the other hand, of the lists contained in the 'Latin Chronicles.'—Pref. to Chron. of the Picts and Scots, p. cxxvii. In the one list the last four kings, *i.e.*, Selvach, Echadh, Dungal, and Alpin, are placed first after Ainbhceallach. In the Latin list the four kings, Selvach, Echadh, Dungal, and Alpin, are placed last. The real difference between the two lists consists in this, that the four kings, Selvach, Echadh, Dungal, and Alpin, commenced the list in the one and terminate it in the other. They reigned, according to the one, in the eighth century, and according to the other, in the ninth century, and there is a difference of a century between the period of each. This is obviously a difference arising from an *intentional alteration* in one or other of the lists for *chronological purposes*, and it is, of course, of importance to ascertain which represents the true history. In the first place, the lists which place these four kings in the earlier century belong to the eleventh century, while the oldest of the Latin lists, which places them in the ninth century, was compiled in the year 1165, a century later, and the oldest of the eleventh century lists, *i.e.*, that by Flann Mainistreach, who synchronizes these kings of Dalriada with the monarchs of Ireland, so as to leave no doubt as to the period to which he refers them. In the second place, the Irish annalists entirely support the older lists. The question is whether these four kings reigned in the first half of the eighth century, or in the first half of the ninth century.—(Pref. to Chron. Picts and Scots, cxxix., cxxx.) In 736, Angus, son of Fergus, king of the Picts, lays waste the region of Dalriada, obtains Dunad, burns Creich, and puts the sons of Selvach—Dungal and Feradach—in chains. Dunad was the capital of Dalriada, and Creich is in the Ross of Mull, opposite the Sound of Iona. In 741, coincident with the last year of Alpin, we have the following significant entry:—"*Percussio Dalriatai la Oengus MacFergus*" (Ann. Ulst.); thus showing the complete conquest and subjection of Dalriada by the kings of the Picts at the very time when this variance between the lists commences.—(Pref. Chron. Picts and Scots, cxxxi.) The matter, therefore, stands thus, that by both lists the Scottish kings of Dalriada terminate in Alpin; but in the Latin lists Alpin is brought down to the year 841, and identified with Alpin, the father of Kenneth, while by the older lists Alpin reigned from 736 to 741, and is followed by a list of eleven kings; and the ".Irish Annals" show that in 741, Dalriada had been completely conquered by the king of the Picts, and that the eleven kings who intervened between that Alpin and Kenneth MacAlpin were of the Pictish race.

That the lists of the kings of Dalriada, given by the Synchronisms of "Flann Mainistreach" and the "Albanic Duan—agreeing so entirely with each other, supported as they are by the "Irish Annals," and in direct antagonism to the later forms of the Scottish fable—present the true history, can hardly be doubted, and the result of the comparison of the two lists is that the compilers of the Latin lists *suppressed* the conquest of Dalriada by the Angles by *extending* the reigns of the early kings till Donald Brec is made the *immediate predecessor* of Ferchar fada, and that they in like manner *suppressed the conquest of Dalriada by the Picts*, and the century of the Pictish rule in that kingdom, by placing the reigns of the last four Scottish kings a century later, and *interpolating* kings before them to fill up the vacant period."—(Pref. Chron. Picts and Scots, cxxxii., cxxxiii.)

Before discussing the grounds of Dr. Skene's allegations, I place before the reader Flann's list of kings; second, that of the Duan; and third, the Latin lists.

In the MSS. of Flann the names of the kings from Fergus, son of Erc, to Kenneth MacAlpin are simply given without any reference to the time they reigned.

Dr. Skene says that Flann Mainistreach synchronises the reigns of the kings of Dalriada with those of the monarchs of Ireland of that period; if he did so correctly, it is singular that in third paragraph of the MS. of Flann there is a discrepancy of sixty years. In a footnote, Skene himself says, "xxiiii. seems written by mistake for lxxxiiii." But though the reign of each king is not given in Flann's MSS., Dr. Skene supplies dates to the most of the kings in the comparison he makes of the Gaelic and Latin lists. (Pref. Chron. Picts and Scots cxxvii.-cxxviii.)

THE KINGS OF DALRIADA.

(By Flann Mainistreach.)

Five Kings—478-565.

Fergus mor MacErc,	27
Angus mor MacErc,	5
Domangart MacFergus,	5
Comgall MacDomangart,	24
Gabran MacDomangart,	2

Two Kings—565-598.

Conal MacComgall,	15
Aedan, son of Gabran,	24

Four Kings—598-642.

Eocho buide MacAedan,	17
Conad Cerr, his son,	0¼
Ferchair MacConaing,	16
Donald brec MacEocho buide,	14

Nine Kings—642-743.

Conall Crandomna, Dunchad MacDuban,	10
Domnal Donn,	13
Mailduin MacConall,	17
Ferchar fada,	21
Eocho Rianamhail,	2
Ainbhceallach MacFerchar,	1
Selbach MacFerchar,	—
Eochaig Angbaidh,	—

Thirteen Kings—743-879.

Dungal MacSelbaig,	7
Alpin MacEchach,	4
Muredac ua Daiti,	3
Aed Aireatach,	30
Fergus,	—
Eochoid,	—
Domnall MacCustantin,	24
Conall Caemh,	2
Conall, his brother,	4
Custantin MacFergusa,	9
Aengus MacFergusa,	9
Aed MacBoanta,	4
Eoganan MacAengusa,	13
Cinaed MacAlpin,	30

According to the best ascertained annals, from the arrival of the sons of Erc in 503 till the death of Kenneth MacAlpin in 858 or 860, is 355 or 357 years. Skene commences the list of Flann in 478 and ends it in 879, making that time 401 years.

KINGS OF DALRIADA.

(By The Duan Albanach.)

Loarn,	10
Fergus,	27
Domangart,	5
Comgall,	24
Gabhran,	2
Conal,	15
Aodhan,	24
Eathach Buidhe,	17
Connchadh Cearr,	$0\frac{1}{4}$
Fearchar,	16

Domnal Brec,	14
Conal and Dungall,	10
Domnall Donn,	13
Maolduin,	17
Ferchar fada,	21
Eachdach,	2
Ainceallach,	1
Dungal,	7
Ailpein,	4
Muireadhiogh,	3
Aodh,	30
Domhnall,	24
Conal,	2
Conal,	4
Cusantin,	9
Aongus,	9
Aodh,	4
Eoganan,	13
Cinaoith,	30

COMPARISONS.

The Duan gives Loarn 10 years, Flann none. Flann gives Angus Mor 5 years, the Duan none. Both Duan and Flann give to Gabhran 2 years, the Irish Annals 22 years. Flann gives Selvach and Eochaig a place, the Duan gives a place to neither. Skene places Alpin MacEachach between 736 and 741, when Dalriada was wasted by Angus MacFergus, yet in the list of Flann (see Pref. cxxxiii.), he is placed from 750 to 754. Skene, failing to trace the Pictish pedigree of Kenneth, says: "It raises the presumption that if his father was a Scot his mother must have been Pictish, and that he had been adopted into her tribe."—(Pref. clxxxv. vi.) This is the fable of Boece, which makes Kenneth's mother a Pictish princess named Fergusia. He also says that Alpin was a Pictish name, (Pref. clxxxv.-clxxxvi.); this is trifling with history. We have many of the Pictish and Scottish names common to both from the dawn of their Annals, for instance those of Angus and Fergus.

He says: "The list of the kings of Dalriada given by the synchronism of 'Flann Mainistreach' and the 'Albanic Duan,' agreeing entirely with each other, supported as they are by the Irish Annals, and in direct antagonism to the Scottish fable."—(Pref. cxxxii.)

The above is a sample of the entire agreement, but more of this yet.

THE LATIN LISTS OF THE KINGS

	XVI. Chronicles of Scots 1165.		XXIII. Chronicles of Scots and Picts 1187.	
1.	Fergus filius Eric	3	Fergus filius Herth	3
2.	Domangrat f. F.	5	Donengarth f. F.	5
3.	Congel f. D.	33	Congal f. D.	22
4.	Goueran frater Congel	22	Couran f. D.	22
5.	Conal filius Congel	14	Conal f. Congal	14
6.	Edan f. G.	34	Edane f. Gouran	34
7.	Eochod flavus, f. E.	16	Hethghed bud	15
8.	Kinat sinister f. Conal	0¼	Knath kere, f. Conal	0¼
9.	Fercar f. K.	16	Ferthar f. Euin	16
10.	Dovenald varius f. Eochid	14	Dovnald brek	—
11.	Fergar longus	21	Fercar foda	21
12.	Eochal filius Donegarth filii Doneual varii	3	Heched monanle f. Doneng-hark, f. Donald brek	22
13.	Arinchellac f. Ferchar, l.	1	Amernikellethe f. Findan	16
14.	Ewen f. Ferchar, l.	13	Heogham f. Findan	16
15.	Murechat f. Arinchellac	3	Murdathe	—
16.	Ewen f. Murcerdach	3	Fertham f. Murdathe	2
17.	Edalbus f. Eochal	30	Hethfyne f. Heorghet	30
18.	Fergus f. Hedalbi	3	Fergus f. H.	3
19.	Seluach f. Eogan	24	Sealthant f. Regagane	14
20.	Fochal f. Edalbi	30	Herghed f. Hethefyne	30
21.	Dunegal f. Seluach	7	Dunghel f. Fralnath	7
22.	Alpin f. Eochal	3	Aropin f. Hethed	3
23.	Kynedus f. Alpini	16	Kynat macAlpin	16

	XXXVI. Chronicles of Picts and Scots 1317.		XL. Chronicles of the Scots XIV. Century.	
1.	Fergus filius Herc	3	Fergus macHer	3
2.	Douenard f. F.	5	Domangal	5
3.	Congal f. D.	12	Congel	30
4.	Goueran f. D.	34	Conerham	20
			Conal	14
5.	Edhan f. Goueran	34	Edom	33
6.	Heokebude	16	Edith	6
7.	Kineth Ker f. Conal	0¼	Kynad	0¼
8.	Ferchar f. Cuin	21	Ferkare	16
9.	Dounald brec f. Heokebud	4	Douenhal	13
10.	Malduin f. Dounald duin	13	Malclom	16
11.	Ferchar fode	21	Fercar	20
12.	Heochet f. Dongard f. Dounald brec	3	Etal	3
13.	Armkellach f. Findan	1	Ormekellet	1
14.	Heochgain f. Findan	16		
15.	Minredhach f. Armkel	3		
16.	Heochgain f. M.	2	Ewain	3
17.	Edhfin f. Heochet	30	Hedaldus	30
18.	Fergus f. E.	3	Fergus	3
19.	Sealuach f. Heochgain	24	Seluak	20
20.	Heochet f. Edhfin	30		
21.	Dunghal f. Sealuach	7	Conegal	7
22.	Alpin f. Heochet	3	Alpin	3
23.	Kineth f. Alpin	16	Kynad makAlpin	16

OF DALRIADA.—FROM 503 TO 859¼.

XXIX. Chronicles of Picts and Scots 1251.		XXXII. Chronicles of Picts and Scots 1280.	
Fergus filius Erth	3	Fergus fitz Ferthair	3
Domenghart f. F.	5	Dungal f. F.	5
Congall f. D.	24	Congal f. D.	22
Gouran f. D.	22	Constan f. Doengard	22
Conall f. Congal	14	Conel f. Congelle	14
Edhan f. Garan	34	Edhan f. Godfray	34
Heoghedbad	16	Eokebrid	16
Kineth Ker f. Conal	0¼	Kynather f. Conel	0¼
Ferchar f. Ewini	16	Ferthaire f. Ewyne	16
Dovenald Breck f. Heoghedbad	14	Dopnaldebreck f. Eokebrid	14
Malduin f. Donewald dunn	16	Maldun f. Dopnaldebrech	16
Ferthar Foda	21	Fercarfod	21
Heoghed, f. Dondghart, f. Dovenald brek	3		
Arenkelleth f. Findan	1	Armelech f. Findan	1
Heodgan f. Findan	16	Congan f. Findan	16
Murdac f. Arinkellath	3	Moredath f. Arnikelec	3
Geoghan f. M.	2		
Hethfin f. Heochetramele	30		
Fergus f. Hethfin	3		
Icalulanc f. Eogagan	24	Seluach f. Cogan	24
Heogled f. Hethfine	30	Ergheche f. Achfin	30
Dungal f. H.	7	Donald f. Sealuech	7
Alpinus f. H.	5	Alpyn f. Beghach	3
Kinart macAlpin	16	Kynet f. Alpin	16

XLVI. Metrical Chronicle 1263.		XXX. Chronicon Elegiacum 1270.	Died.
Fergus	3		
Donegard	5		
Congal	20		
Gouren	22		
Conal	14		
Edhan	24		
Eoglebod	16		
Kynath Ker	0¼		
Ferquharth	16		
Douenald	14		
Maldoin	16		
Ferard	21		
Eoged	13		
Armkelloch	1		
Eogain	13	Ewain	741
Murdahw	3	Murezaut	744
Neogaw	3	Ewen	747
Hetfin	30	Hed Albus	777
Fergus	3	Fergus	780
Sealvanach	24	Seluad	804
Ogadaninque	30	Eokal	834
Dungal	7	Dungal	841
Alpinus	3	Alpinus	843
Kenedus filius Alpyn	7	Kinedus	859

THE LATIN LISTS OF DALRIADIC KINGS.

The foregoing eight Latin lists are copied from the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, published in 1867.

Chron. XVI.—This is the earliest in date of the Latin series of Scottish kings, and though it differs from others in two dates, it seems to be the most perfect of them.

Chron. XXIII.—This MS. was written by James Gray, priest, Dunblane, from an older MS. The transcriber is considered by Skene very inaccurate. The names of Donald Brec and Murechat are not given, but this is an omission, as they are referred to in their successors.

Chron. XXIX.—This MS. was published by Father Innes from the register of the Priory of St. Andrews. It is the first in order of the six that insert two of the nominal kings after Donald Brec. Otherwise, with the exception of two or three kings, it agrees with MS. XVI.

Chron. XXXII.—This MS. is written in Norman-French; the names are often out of place and badly spelled. There are several blanks, and two of the nominal kings are inserted.

Chron. XXXVI.—This MS. is more perfect than the previous one. It omits Conal, but afterwards refers to him as the father of Kineth Ker. The dates vary from some of the others. It inserts two of the nominal kings.

Chron. XL.—This list merely gives the names of the kings (without their connection), and the years they reigned. There are several blanks, and it inserts one of the nominal kings. Skene says it was probably written by an ignorant Englishman.

Chron. XLVI.—The Metrical Chronicle was partly written about the reign of Alexander III. It gives the names of the kings and the number of years they reigned.

Chron. XXX.—The prose Chronicle which precedes the Chronicon Elegiacum (Melrose version) records the deaths of the kings from Ewan, son of Ferchar fada, to Kenneth MacAlpine.

A SUMMARY OF THE LATIN LISTS OF THE KINGS OF DALRIADA.

		Years.
Arrival of the sons of Erc,		503
Fergus, son of Erc,	Reigned	3
Domangart, son of Fergus,	do.	5
Congal, son of Domangart,	do.	24
Gabhran, son of Domangart,	do.	22
Conal, son of Congal,	do.	14
Aidan, son of Gabhran, said to have died 605 (Ann. Ulst., 606),	do.	35
Eocha Buidhe, son of Aidan,	do.	16
Kenneth Cearr, son of Eocha Buidhe,	do.	0¼
Fearchar, son of Kenneth Cearr,	do.	16
Donald Brec, son of Eocha Buidhe,	do.	4
Four kings,	Nominally reigned	34
Ferchar fada,	Reigned	21
Eochal haben curvum nasum filius Donegarth filii Doneual varii (III.),		0
Ainceallach, son of Ferchar fada,	Reigned	1
Selbhach, son of Ferchar fada,	Ruled	29
Ewan, son of Ferchar fada,	Reigned	13
Muredach, son of Ainceallach,	do.	3
Ewan, son of Muredach,	do.	3
Edalbus, son of Ewan,	do.	30
Fergus, son of Edalbus,	do.	3
Selvach, son of Ewan,	do.	24
Eochal, son of Edalbus,	do.	30
Dungal, son of Selvach,	do.	7
Alpin, son of Eochal,	do.	3
Kenneth, son of Alpin,	do.	16
		859¼

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DALRIADIC KINGS,

FROM FERGUS, SON OF ERC, TO KENNETH, SON OF ALPIN, 503-843.

Proofs of the Authenticity of the Latin Chronicles attested by Contemporary Annals.

THE RACE OF FERGUS.

Arrival of the sons of Erc, ... 503

1. Fergus, son of Erc, reigned three years, ... 506

(He had two sons, Domangart and Congal).

2. Domangart, son of Fergus, reigned five years, ... 511
3. Congal, son of Fergus, reigned 24 years, ... 535
4. Gauran, son of Domangart, reigned 22 years, ... 557
5. Conal, son of Congal, reigned 14 years, ... 571

(Duncan, son of Conal, attempted to succeed his father, but was defeated by his cousin, Aidan).

6. Aidan, son of Gauran, reigned 34 years, ... 605

(Anns. of Ulst. say *Mors Aedain meic Gabrain*—606.)

7. Eocha Buidhe, son of Aidan, reigned 16 years, ... 622
8. Kenneth Cearr, son of Eocha Buidhe, reigned $\frac{1}{4}$, ... $0\frac{1}{4}$
9. Ferchar, son of Kenneth Cearr, reigned 16 years, ... 638
10. Donald Brec, son of Ferchar, reigned 4 years, ... 642

The oldest Latin lists, and also the Gaelic lists, make Donald Brec reign 14 years, which will be till 652, but the Latin Chronicle xxxvi. of the year 1317 gives him only four years. This agrees with the Irish Annals, which say he was killed at Strathcairin in 642. After 642 then follow four nominal kings, quoted in the Gaelic lists but omitted in the early Latin list. Dr. Skene says that the four nominal kings extended over forty years, which is a mistake, Ferchar fada succeeding those kings. Now, both the Gaelic and Latin lists say he reigned 21 years. The

Annals of Tighernac and Ulster agree that Ferchar fada died in the year 697, after having reigned 21 years. Deduct these years from 697 and you leave 676. Deduct again 642, the year in which Donald Brec died, and you leave 34, ... 676

THE RACE OF LOARN.

11. Ferchar fada reigned 21 years, ... 697

Eochal haben curvum nasum, son of Domangart and grandson of Donald Brec, is in all the lists, both Gaelic and Latin, and is said to have reigned two or three years after Ferchar fada; but this is a mistake, as Eochal was of the race of Fergus, and the Latin lists down from Ferchar fada to Kenneth treat only of the house of Loarn. This is clearly proven in this case by the Irish Annals, which show that Ainbhceallach immediately succeeded his father, and left no interval for Eochal to reign.

12. Ainfceallach, son of Ferchar fada, reigned 1 year, ... 698

Selbhach, son of Ferchar fada, ruled 29 years, ... 727

It may be observed that Selbhach was a usurper, and Dungal, his son, was a robber. Neither of them is acknowledged in the Latin lists.

13. Ewan, son of Ferchar fada, reigned 13 years, from 728, 741

14. Murechat, son of Ainfceallach, reigned 3 years, ... 744

It would appear that Ewan was appointed Tanister over the house of Loarn, two years before the death of his brother Selbhach, and continued as such for 13 years. From the Annals of Tighernac and Ulster we learn that Muredach, son of Ainfceallach, and grandson of Ferchar fada, assumed the kingdom in 733. "*Muredac mac Ainfceallach regnum generis Loarnd assumit.*"

—(Ann. Ulst.) It is probable Muredac came from Ireland to claim his right to the kingdom, but did not reign till the death of his uncle Ewan. "The succession among the old Scots was: If the son were too young, his uncle or cousin was called to the throne as Tanister, yet the son was never set aside, but succeeded in his turn."—(Pinkerton's Enquiry.)

15. Ewan, son of Murechat, reigned 3 years, ... 747
16. Edalbus, son of Eochal curvi nasi, reigned 30 years, 777

This is evidently a second mistake founded on the one referred to above. It should have been Ewan instead of Eochal. This is confirmed by the Metrical Chronicle of 1270, which says: "*Anno* DCCXLVII. *obit Ewan rex Scottorum cui successit Hed Albus filius ejus.*" Edalbus is said by the "Annals of Ulster" to have died in 778, but he may have abdicated two years earlier in favour of his son.

17. Fergus, son of Edalbus, reigned 3 years, ... 780
18. Selbhach, son of Ewan, reigned 24 years, ... 804
19. Echal venenosus, son of Edalbus, reigned 30 years,... 834
20. Dungal, son of Selbhach, reigned 7 years, ... 841
21. Alpin, son of Eokal or Ewan, reigned 3 years (841), 843
22. Kenneth, son of Alpin, reigned 16 years, ... 859

Pinkerton and Skene say that the Irish Annals are silent about the Scots kings of Dalriada during this century; but such was not the case. We have seen that Ewan, son of Muredac, died in 742, and was succeeded by Aedh finn, who reigned thirty years. The Annals of Ulster say there was a war at Fortren between Aedh and Kenneth. "768. *Bellum i fortrinn ittir Aedh acus Cineadh.*" The death of Kenneth is recorded seven years afterwards—"775. *Mors Cinadhon regis Pictorum*" and Aedh died in 777. "*Aed finn mac Echdach rex Dalriati* *mortuus est.*" Aedh was succeeded by his son Fergus, who reigned 3 years. It is said of him, "781. *Fergus MacEchach ri Dalriati defunctus est.*" This Echach is such a flexible name as to bend into every possible form, such as Echach, Achy, Echaig, Eoakal, and Ewan, and it has to be guessed from the context.

From 781 to 843 there are no further references to the kings of Dalriada in the Irish Annals, but this is not singular, for they only record two Pictish kings from 782 to 839.

Dr. Skene lays great stress on the point that the three kings preceding Alpin are not mentioned in the Irish Annals. He might with equal propriety ask why the seven royalists from Loarn to Ferchar fada are omitted from these annals.

THE FALLACIES ON WHICH DR. SKENE PROCEEDS.

He proceeds on the assumption that the Scottish kings of Dalriada from Fergus, son of Erc, in 503, to Alpin MacEchach, whom he places from 736 to 741, reigned promiscuously, and that the eleven kings of Dalriada between this Alpin and Kenneth MacAlpin, who united the Scots and Picts in 843, were of the Pictish race. Whereas, we have seen that the first ten kings of Dalriada from Fergus, son of Erc, to Donald Brec, were of the race of Fergus, and the last twelve kings from Ferchar fada to Kenneth MacAlpin were of the race of Loarn. We have also seen that his famous Flann greatly overlaps the true dates. The Duan, though near the years in the gross, is far from correct in several of the ascertained individual reigns. Flann places in his list *the four nominal kings* from Donald Brec to Ferchar fada, and also Selbhach the usurper, and Dungal his son. The Duan has also the four nominal kings and several of the unknown kings of Flann towards the end of the poem.

Pinkerton, in his version of the Duan, observes that both Selbhach and Achy of Flann are wanting in the Duan, and he places Dungal and Alpin, which succeed Ainfceallach in Flann, before Kenneth MacAlpin as in their proper places. There is a significant difference in the mode of computing of Flann and the Duan, and that of the early Latin Chronicles.

The Latin lists take particular care not to record any nominal or unlawful kings who did not represent all Dalriada during their respective reigns. They omit the four nominal kings from Donald Brec when Dalriada was subject to the Britons. They also omit Selbhach the usurper, and Dungal his son, but the years of the nominal kings and of Selbhach are ascertained from contemporary annals, and when added to the Latin lists make the exact time from 503 to 843, as given in the Chronicles of the Scots and Picts and Irish Annals.

But the most arbitrary attempt of Dr. Skene is in placing an Alpin between 736 and 741, when Angus MacFergus is said to have conquered Dalriada. Where he got this Alpin to fit in here is a mystery. The Latin lists have none such; he is unknown to the Irish Annals. If we take Skene's own version of the Duan, counting from Loarn downwards, he is placed between 718 and 722, and even in Flann he is placed between 750 and 754. Dr Skene has not been more fortunate in his reference to this Alpin in his new work, "Celtic Scotland," where he observes, "At this time (about 740) the Northumbrians were at enmity with the Picts." Ceoluulf, the king of Northumbria, had followed the fashions of that time and become a monk in Lindisfarne in the year 737. He was succeeded by his cousin Eadberct, the son of his father's brother; and we are told in the short chronicle annexed to Bede that in 740 Aedibald, king of Mercia, unfairly laid waste part of Northumbria, its king, Eadberct, being occupied with his army against the Picts. It is *probable* that Aengus (MacFergus) had excited the hostility of the king of Northumbria by stirring up the Picts of Lothian and Galloway to revolt, and that Eadberct *may* have encouraged, if not invited, the Scots of Dalriada to occupy their country. Alpin is said by *all authorities* to have reigned four years after Dungal, which brings us to the year 740, when he invaded Galloway with a part of the Dalriadic nation that followed him, and was slain there after having laid waste and almost destroyed the country of the Picts. The Annals of Ulster thus record it in 741:

"Battle of Drum Cathmail, between the Cruithnigh and the Dalriads against Innrechtach. The locality of this battle appears to have been in Galloway, not far from Kirkcudbright, and Innrechtach was probably the leader of the Galloway Picts. One of the Chronicles appears to have preserved the traditionary account of his death where it tells that he was slain in Galloway, after he had destroyed it, by a single person who lay in wait for him in a thick wood overhanging the entrance to a ford of a river, as he rode among the people. The scene of his death *must* have been on the east side of Loch Ryan, where a stream falls into the loch. On the north side is the farm of Laight, and on this farm is a large upright pillar stone, to which the name of Laight Alpin, or the grave of Alpin, is given." (Celt., Scot. Vol. I., pp. 291-2.)

Let us examine the evidence of this fanciful bit of history.

(1.) Where is the evidence that Eadberct invited the Scots of Dalriada to occupy Galloway?

(2.) "Alpin is said by all authorities to have reigned four years after Dungal, which brings us to the year 740." This is not fair, for no authorities place him at this era.

(3.) "The locality of Drum Cathmail appears to be in Galloway, not far from Kirkcudbright." In a footnote he says: "The only notice the author has been able to find of a place called Cathmail is in a poem attributed to Saint Columba in honour of Saint Cormac, which says—

> ‘Then rang the softened bell,
> Here at the city of Cathmail.’

And that Kirk Cormac is in the parish of Kelton in Galloway.” This is a very weak proof. Cormac had many other kirks ascribed to him, one of which is fully as well known in Knapdale.

(4.) “One of the chronicles appears to have preserved the traditionary account of his death”—that he was slain in Galloway. The Chronicle referred to here is that of Loch Leven of 1280. If this Chronicle is an authority on tradition, why does Dr. Skene omit to tell us that it records the three Latin kings that preceded Alpin, the father of Kenneth.

(5.) The only evidence Dr. Skene has thus produced is an indefinite tradition about the grave of some Alpin.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN DALRIADA AND PICTLAND DURING THIS ERA CONTRASTED.

Dr. Skene always characterises the Picts as a powerful nation and the Scots of Dalriada as a small colony. By the early Latin Chronicles we learn that Fergus, son of Erc, reigned from Drumalban to the Irish Sea and Inchgall.

Dr. Skene tells us that Drumalban extended from Loch Lomond to Loch Broom, which, as it were, divided the waters of the east from the west. Taking a view of Argyle along this straight line it could not be called insignificant, as it included the Western Hebrides, which ran parallel with it and were held by the Scots till the northern invaders made their appearance about the end of the eighth century, when they seized upon these islands and held them for upwards of four hundred years, 794-1263. During their occupation of them the Scoto-Irish Annalists termed the Hebrides Inchgall or the Island of Strangers.

Father Innes tells us that the Scots were Christians long before the arrival of Saint Columba, and received him on his arrival with respect and gave him a place of abode. It is a fact well known that religion and literature were cultivated in Iona from the days of Columba, and spread from that centre of light and learning not only over Britain but to many parts of the Continent; whereas the Picts on the arrival of Saint Columba were heathens.

The name Picts, when first known in history, indicated a rude state of society. The appellation is admitted to mean the painting or tattooing of their skins to serve as ornament or as a terror to their enemies—a custom still common among savages.

In reading Dr. Skene's Celtic works, we are ready to infer that the Picts during this period were comparatively a civilized and powerful people. But in order to have any pretentions to this exalted position, they required two qualifications, viz., education and cohesion, to both of which they were strangers.

THEIR LITERATURE.

Dr. Skene says: "The Columban foundations had spread over the whole nation of the Picts during this era. They owed their civilization to its influence, and entrusted the education of their children to its monastic schools." (Celt. Scot., Vol. I., Book I., p. 276.)

John Pinkerton, who was an ardent admirer of the Picts, says that they were wholly illiterate during this period and for several centuries thereafter. He gives nine reasons why learning was unknown in Pictland till the thirteenth century. I shall give a few extracts which are rather curious.

(1.) "Ninian and Columba, the apostles of the Picts, were of confined minds, bigoted piety, and strangers of secular learning, could never impart literature to others."

(2.) "To a late period the only clergy in Pikland were Irish, as is clear from there being no Pikish saints or churchmen to be found in history or sanctology."

(3.) "Hyona may be regarded as the Rome of Pikland, supporting its own power and interest by keeping the subjects of its church in ignorance. When the Church of St. Andrews was made metropolitan at the end of the ninth century, no native clergy could be formed. The Irish clergy were chosen from their superior learning, veneration, and ancient custom, and held the offices of the Church down to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hyona was indeed no longer the seminary, but as the Irish had been settled in the churches of Pikland, and married among themselves like the tribe of Levi, the only change was that there were many Irish seminaries instead of one."

(4.) From its geographical position the local situation of Pikland was inimical to the learning of the natives.

(5.) "Want of commerce was another cause; for a nation cannot be learned without books. The remote situation of Pikland and its want of materials for commerce rendered it unvisited and almost unknown."

(6.) "The warlike spirit of the Picts and continual occasion for its exertion were inimical to learning."

(7.) "The natural poverty of the country precluded, as it did, other advantages."

(8.) "The Piks, like the Scandinavians, had a contempt for letters, the plain sense of the people being acute. They despised the absurd superstition of the literati, and regarded arms as the sole object of their pursuit."

(9.) "The ravages of the Scandinavians may be regarded as a grand cause that delayed the commencement of literature in Pikland to a late period; as other causes above mentioned prevented its taking place before these ravages."—Enq., Vol. II., Pt. iv., pp. 272-281.)

THE COMPILERS OF THE PICTISH RECORDS.

In the preface to the "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,' Dr. Skene speaks of the "Pictish Chronicle" as if it had been compiled by the Picts themselves, and more reliable than the Latin lists of a later date. At page 124 he says: "The Pictish Chronicle is entirely supported by the Irish Annalists," and at page 23 he says: "This Chronicle was probably compiled by the monks of Brechin." He speaks more definitely at page 126, saying: "The Pictish Chronicle is in fact the Chronicle of Brechin." Yet he omits to tell us that this first Chronicle of the Picts had been compiled by the Scoto-Irish monks of Brechin. The document, as in subsequent monkish records, is written partly in Irish and partly in Latin, and the Book of the monks of Deer, considered still older, is written in Latin and old Irish.

These records confirm Pinkerton's remarks that "to a late period the only clergy in Pikland were Irish, as is clear from there being no Pikish saints or churchmen to be found in history or sanctology."

THE COHESION OR UNITY OF THE PICTS.

Dr. Skene asserts that it was owing to the conversion of the Picts to Christianity by Saint Columba that they suffered the Scots to remain undisturbed for one hundred and fifty years after that event. His words are: "During the entire period of a century and a half which had now elapsed since the northern Picts were converted to Christianity by the preaching of Saint Columba, there is hardly to be found the record of a single battle between them and the Scots of Dalriada. Had they viewed each other as hostile races it is difficult to account for the more powerful nation of the Picts permitting a small colony like the Scots of Dalriada to remain in undisturbed possession of the western district where they settled; and prior to the mission of Saint Columba we find the king of the northern Picts endeavouring to expel them; but after that date there existed a powerful element of peace and bond of union in the Columban Church."—(Celt. Scot., Vol. I., B. i., p. 276.)

This "powerful element of peace and bond of union" has no other foundation than Adamnan's story of the conversion of the Picts by Saint Columba. We have seen above that Cumin, who preceded Adamnan as abbot of Iona, also wrote a memoir of Saint Columba; but he never refers to the Saint's journey to Inverness, nor to the conversion of King Brude and the Picts. We have also seen that even in Adamnan's earlier versions the very way the Saint is said to have gone to Inverness is omitted. This climax of the Saint's mission to Britain is evidently an afterthought of later monks.

The unity of the Picts at this era is altogether a matter of conjecture, of which there is no proof. We can tolerably trace the Scottish kings of Dalriada to their definite seats, and also some of those of the Britons of Strathclyde. But the northern Pictish kings are spoken of in a general way as *Rex Pictorum Ri Cruithnich,* or King of the Picts. Dr. Skene himself says: "It is clear even from the Pictish Chronicle that more than one king reigned at the same time in different parts of Pictland, and it is probable these additional kings are local kings recorded by the one chronicler and not by the other."—(Chron. Picts and Scots, pref. cxxv.-vi.)

The first king that is localised in a place in the Irish Annals is "*Brude mic Bile Rege Fortren.*"—(Tighernac, A.D. 686.) But this place is also uncertain. Pinkerton says it was at Forteviot or elsewhere, and Skene says it was between the Tay and the Forth.

During the early part of the eighth century the Picts had continual wars among themselves. The first invasion they made on Dalriada took place in 733, by Oengus son of Vergust, or Angus MacFergus. Evidently it was not for the sake of conquest, but to punish Dungal the son of Selbach, who was a robber and the son of a usurper.

Brude, the son of Oengus, appears to have been placed as an inmate in the church or convent of Tory on the coast of Ireland. Probably the Irish monks of the Picts induced Oengus to place his son there in order to curb, or rather that they would have some influence over his father's violent temper.

While Brude resided in this sanctuary, the Annals of Ulster, of date 733, says: "*Dungal MacSelbaich dehoneravit Toraic cum traxit Brudeum,*" &c., which is thus explained by Dr. Skene: "Dungal found Brude, the son of Aengus, in Toragh, a church founded by Saint Columba in Tory, on the coast of Donegal, and violated the sanctuary by dragging him from it, which drew down the wrath of Aengus upon him, who invaded Dalriada, wounded Dungal, and made him fly to Ireland." (Celt. Scot., Vol. I., pp. 289-290.)

Aengus was not content with this, but in 736 he laid waste the regions of Dalriada, took Dunad, burnt Creic, and put the two sons of Selbach, Dungal and Feredach, in chains. (Tighernac. Annals of Ulster.)

In 741 the Annals of Ulster has the brief entry, "*Percussia Dalriatai la Aenguso Mac Ferguso.*" Tighernac is silent about this crushing. There is no trace where Aengus made the raid, nor against whom. Hitherto we have seen that it was for the wreaking of his vengeance against the sons of Selbach that he invaded Dalriada, and very probably the causes were similar on this occasion.

Yet, in the face of this, both Pinkerton and Skene are never at an end telling us that the royal race of Dalriada were annihilated by these raids of Aengus MacFergus, who replaced them with Pictish kings. Of this Pinkerton says: "In this year the old Dalriadic race of kings expires and a new Pikish one succeeds." (Enq. Vol. I., p. 307.) And Skene says: "In 741 Dalriada had been completely conquered by the king of the Picts," and that "the eleven kings who intervened between this era and Kenneth MacAlpin were of the Pictish race." (Chron. Picts and Scots, pref. cxxxii.)

Now there is not a shadow of proof for either assertion that such revolution took place.

The invasion of Aengus MacFergus being the only one of any consequence made by the Picts on the Scots of Dalriada, we have seen what prompted him at first to invade it. We shall now consider his own character.

The continuator of Bede describes him thus: "A.D. 761. Oeng, king of the Picts, died; who from the beginning to the end of his reign continued a bloody, tyrannical butcher."

Pinkerton calls him the conqueror of every rival, not only of his neighbours the Scots and the Britons, but also of his own people; two of the Pictish kings or princes he caused to be drowned. But though he made these raids on Dalriada there is no proof that he followed up his success, or caused a revolution, by supplanting the native royal dynasty. In recent times Argyle was subjected to much longer and more organised invasion by Alaster MacCholla Chitich, the commander of the army of Montrose, who, from 1644 to 1647, burned and plundered the district. And, again, forty years thereafter by the Marquis of Athol and his Jacobite allies, who plundered everything they could lay their hands upon, from their cattle to the pot crooks. These cruel ravages passed over the district like a plague, but though they deprived them of their goods they made no impression or change upon the people.

Still less would Aengus, who was actuated by the blind passion of a savage who lacked both education and representation; and therefore his cruel deeds, which originated with himself, ended with himself, for we learn of no more Pictish raids on Dalriada.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHARGE OF FRAUDS.

The royal pedigree between Fergus and Kenneth remained undisputed from the time Father Innes wrote his "Critical Essay" in 1729 until John Pinkerton wrote his "Enquiry" in 1794, when the latter asserts that the kingdom of Dalriada was destroyed by Ungust MacVergust in 739-43, that a new line of princes arose which were Pikish, and that the Latin Chronicles were perverted to screen this change of dynasty.

Dr. Skene follows Pinkerton in these allegations closely, although in a more plausible manner. Both place implicit confidence in the Gaelic lists of Flann and the Duan. Flann is said to be an Irish writer. Pinkerton says the author of the Duan was a court bard, who recited the genealogy of the Scottish kings at the coronation of Malcolm Canmore. Skene says "the presumption is that the Duan is an Irish document—that it was the work of Gillacaemhin, the Irish translator of Nennius." (Chron. Picts and Scots, pref. xxxvii.)

The Latin lists, although written a century later than Flann and the Duan, must have been compiled from the records of the Iona and Irish monks, who were the only custodiers of learning in North Britain from the era of Columba till the thirteenth century.

Yet, with all their advantages over Irish absent writers, Dr.

Skene prefers them, and says the writers of the Latin list suppressed the conquest of Dalriada by Oengus mac Fergus, and the century of Pictish rule in that kingdom, by placing the reigns of the last four kings a century later, and interpolating kings before them to fill up the vacant period."—(Chron. Picts and Scots., pref. cxxxiv.)

But neither Pinkerton nor Skene attempts to show when or where this alleged falsification took place. The early Latin lists were compiled in the Scottish chief seats of learning during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as at Melrose, St. Andrews, Lochleven, Dunblane, &c., and they are found more or less differing in orthography, dates, and even of the names of the kings recorded, which evidently shows there was no collusion in compiling them.

Dr. Skene seems to confound two distinct documents, viz.: "The Latin lists" and the artificial history of Fordon and Boece. The Latin lists, eight in number had all, except two, been compiled before the death of Alexander III., and seem to have undergone no change since.

The first tampering with the Scottish Records took place in 1301, when the Scots were sorely tried by Edward I. Father Innes says: "That Baldred Bisset and the other envoys to the Pope advanced incredible accounts at a venture in a necessary juncture to serve a turn."—(Crit. Ess., pp. 706-710.) But these fabulous statements were of antiquities which they advanced prior to the arrival of the sons of Erc in Argyle, for neither the Latin list nor yet the envoys to Rome tampered with the Scottish Records from 503 to 843. It was after this date that Fordon and Boece commenced to manipulate and embellish the history of Scotland.

Dr. Skene alleges "that the compilers of the Latin lists were guilty of intentional alterations for chronological purposes." That they suppressed the conquest of Dalriada by the Angles by extending the reigns of the early kings till Donald Breac is made the immediate predecessor of Ferchar fada, and they in like manner suppressed the conquest of Dalriada by the Picts, and the century of the Pictish rule in that kingdom, by placing the reigns of the last four Scottish kings a century later, and interpolating kings before them to fill up the vacant period." —(Chron. Picts and Scots, pref. cxxix.-cxxxiii.

THE ALLEGED FRAUDS OF THE LATIN LISTS EXAMINED.

The allegations of Dr. Skene against the Latin lists may be reduced to three particulars :

(1.) The suppression of the conquest of Dalriada by the Angles, and extending the reign of Donald Breac to Ferchar fada.

(2.) The suppressing of the conquest of Dalriada by the Picts, and the century of the Pictish rule there.

(3.) The interpolating of the Scottish kings to fill up this vacant period.

FIRST CHARGE.

The particulars of the first charge divide themselves into two sections. (1) The suppressing of the conquest of the Angles ; (2), extending the reign of Donald Breac to Ferchar fada.

Section First.—It is evident from the sequel that Dalriada was completely paralysed by the defeat and death of the king Donald Breac by the Britons at Strathcarron. But there is not the most remote evidence that the Angles conquered it or ever had a footing there.

The defeat of the Scots and the death of Donald Breac are recorded in the Annals of Tighernac, Innisfallen, and Ulster. Those of the latter say: "642. *Postea Domhnaill breacc in bello Straith Cairinn in fine anni in Decembre interfectus, est ab Hoan rege Britonum.*"—(Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 348.)

About eight years after this date (650) Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, accompanied by thirty kings, invaded the Angles of Bernicia, whose kingdom extended from the Humber to the Forth. The confederate kings were entirely defeated by Oswy, king of Bernicia. Bede says: "The Pagans were defeated, the thirty commanders and those who had come to his assistance were put to flight and almost all of them slain." (Book III., chap. 24.)

Tighernac records this event as follows: "650. *Cath Ossu fri Pante in quo Panto cum xxx. regibus cecidit.*" (Chron. of Picts and Scots, p. 71.)

He repeats this event a little differently six years later:—"656. *Cath Pante regis Saxorum in quo ipse cum xxx. regibus cecidit Ossiu victor erat.*" (Ib.)

The Annals of Ulster says: "650. *Bellum Ossu fri Pante.*" (Chron. of Scots and Picts, p. 348.) And in "656. *Bellum Pante regis Saxonum, Ossu victor erat.*" (Ib. 349.)

Dr. Skene says: "By this defeat the Britons of Strathclyde appear to have fallen into the power of Oswy, and the Scots of Dalriada seem to have shared the same fate." (Chron. of Picts and Scots, pref. cxvii.) Yet he offers no proof whatever that either the Scots or Britons were among the confederate kings of Penda. Three years afterwards Oswy is said by Bede to have subjected "*Gentem Pictorum maxima ex parte regno Anglorum,*" which is translated, "King Oswy likewise subdued the greater part of the Picts to the dominion of the English." (Bede, Book III., chap. 24.)

This subjugation only referred to Southern Pictland, which King Oswy retained till his death in 670.

Yet Skene connects this subjection of the Picts with that of the Scots and Britons, and what he supposes on the previous page he now makes a fact, saying: "Oswy had now completed the subjugation of the Britons of Strathclyde, the Scots of Dalriada, and a considerable portion of the Picts."—(Pref. cxviii.) This is in short the flimsy foundation of his conquest of Dalriada by the Angles.

Section Second.—We shall now consider their second alleged fraud in extending the reign of Donald Breac to Ferchar fada. We have seen that the early Latin lists carefully exclude both nominal kings and usurpers from their records. There are four nominal kings between Donald Breac and Ferchar fada, whose time extended over thirty-four years, viz.: Conal Crandomna, Dunchad MacDuban, Donnal Donn, and Mailduin MacConall. These are recorded in the Gaelic lists of Flann and the Duan, and some of them in the later Latin lists. But in the early Latin lists they are entirely ignored for the obvious reason that the Scots became quite paralysed with their defeat and the death of their king, Donald Breac, by Hoan at Strathcarron in 642. They apparently allowed the Britons to overrun Dalriada, seize their two strongholds, Dunad and Dunolly, and never attempted to regain their independence till Ferchar fada, who was of the race of Loarn, rose as a deliverer. In the second year of his reign he fought a battle with the Britons, when he was defeated. Tighernac says: "678. *Interfectio itirinn, i.e., Ferchar fotai generis Laoirn acus Britones qui victores eran't.*" But Ferchar does not seem to have been daunted by this repulse. Five years after this there seems to have been a simultaneous attempt on the part of the Picts to throw off the yoke of the Angles, and of the Scots that of the Britons. In 683, the Annals of Ulster says that Dunatt, the chief stronghold of

Dalriada, and Dunduirn, a stronghold of the Picts, were besieged — "*Obsessio Dunatt et Duinduirn.*" Three years after this we read in the same Annals that Tula-amon, another stronghold of the Picts on the Tay, and Dunolly, the stronghold of the house of Lorn, were burnt—" 686. *Combussit Tula-amain (et) Duinolluigh.*" This was the beginning of the end, for this year Brude MacBile, king of the Picts, overcame the Angles in Forfarshire, and drove them out of Pictland. And from this date the Britons never attempted to invade Dalriada. In 704 Selbhach, the son of Ferchar fada, carried the war to the gates of the Britons in the Vale of Leven, where the Dalriadans were worsted. In 711 the Dalriadans conquered the Britons at Loirg Eclat; and in 717 they again overcame them at Minvirce, this being their last engagement we read of. We thus observe that the Latin compilers committed no fraud here. The time occupied by these nominal kings, who were unworthy of the name, is left a hiatus. But counting the ascertained time from the reign of Ferchar the son of Erc, to Ferchar fada, these thirty-four blank years are included in the gross number, without any attempt on the part of the compilers to fill them up with other names.

SECOND CHARGE.

"Their suppressing the conquest of Dalriada by the Picts and the century of the Pictish rule there."

These two charges may be met with a direct negative. Dalriada was never conquered by the Picts, and there is not the least proof that they reigned there for a day, not speaking of a century.

The alleged conquest took place in 733, 736, and 741, when raids were made on Dalriada by Angus MacFergus, king of the Picts, not for the sake of conquest, but in order to punish Dungal, the son of Selbach, for violating the Sanctuary at Toraic, and dragging Brude, the son of Oengus, out of it. In 733 Oengus invaded Dalriada, wounded Dungal and made him fly to Ireland. In 736 Oengus made a second invasion, seized Dunad and burnt Creic, and put Dungal and his brother Feredach in chains. He made a third raid in 741, which the Annals of Ulster briefly records: "*Percussio Dalriatai la Aenguso MacFerguso.*" Tighernac, who is an older authority, is silent about this crushing, and the Annals of Ulster does not say where or on whom it was made, but it may be presumed it was a last stroke at Dungal.

Oengus at best was a restless tyrant who was continually at war with his neighbours or his own people. The continuator of Bede says of him, "Through his whole reign he was a bloody tyrant and executioner." The raids made by this savage on Dalriada were instigated by personal revenge, and ended by his blind passion, yet they are magnified by Pinkerton and Skene into the conquest of a nation, of which there is not the least indication, but rather the contrary, as we shall now see. In the very year Oengus made his first raid, we learn from the Annals of Ulster that Muredac, the son of Ainfceallach, and grandson of Ferchar fada, prince regent, came to claim his kingdom. "733, *Muredac MacAinfceallach regnum generis Laoirnd assumit.*"

When the second raid was made in 736, we learn from the same Annals that Muredach, yet only a prince, fought a battle with Talorgan, a brother of Oengus, in the Carse of Falkirk. In the year of the last raid we learn that the Scots of Dalriada fought with the Picts in Galloway—"741. *Bellum Dromcathmain inter cruitniu et Dalriati.*" Dr. Skene says the locality is not far from Kirkcudbright.—(Celt. Scot., Vol. I., p. 292.)—Result not given.

This not only shows us that the Scots were able to hold their own kingdom of Dalriada at this time, but to fight with the Picts at the extremities of modern Scotland.

THIRD CHARGE.

"Their interpolating of Scottish kings to fill up the vacant period when Dalriada was under Pictish rule."

It can be clearly shown that the foisting of nondescript kings among the Scots kings of Dalriada, during the period in question, is the work of Pinkerton and Skene, based on the Gaelic lists of Flann and the Duan Albanach, and not on those of the compilers of the Latin lists.

The Gaelic lists as given by Skene in the Chronicles of the Scots and Picts, in mingling Pictish, defunct Dalriadic, and Irish kings among the lineal descendants of Ferchar fada, place 13 kings after 743 before Kenneth MacAlpin. The first and second of them are Dungal and Alpin, to whom he assigns a reign of seven and four years respectively, which would end in 750 and 754. We have already seen that he says that Dungal ended his career in 737, and Alpin in 741. The next three kings named—Muredac, Aedh, and Fergus—are the same as in the Latin lists. Next is Donald MacCustantin, who is not known in the Latin or Irish Annals; then follow two Connals, one of them a defunct king of Kintyre; the other a Conal MacTaidg, apparently an Irishman. Then we have two Pictish kings, Contantin MacFergus rex Fortren, and Oengus MacFergus rex Fortren, and the last three were never heard of till we find them in 839 engaged in a deadly conflict in Pictland against the Danes, where the three, viz., Euganan MacOengusa acus Bran MacOengusa acus Aed MacBoanta, lost their lives.

Last of all comes Kenneth MacAlpin, who is said to have reigned thirty years. Now, both the Annals of Innisfallen and those of Ulster say he died in 858; and all the Latin lists say that he reigned sixteen years, that is from 843 to 858, inclusive, instead of 879, as Flann has it.

The mingling and foisting of so many strange kings among the successors of Ferchar fada from 697 to 843 is clearly the work of Dr. Skene, based on Flann and the Duan, yet he does not offer a single proof that any but the real race of Loarn occupied Dalriada during the alleged century of subjugation.

THE UNION OF THE SCOTS AND PICTS.

The sudden elevation of Kenneth MacAlpin to the united throne of the Scots and Picts in 843 is a puzzle not easily explained by those who maintain that the Scots for a century previous to this were literally crushed, and their country ruled by the Picts. Those who hold this opinion do not venture to say that Kenneth was not of the royal race of the Scots, but to get over the difficulty Dr. Skene hints that his mother was a Pictish princess.—(Celt. Scot. Vol. I., p. 314.) Unfortunately for him he has no authority but Hector Boece, the arch fabler, who says Fergusia, a Pictish princess, was the mother of Kenneth.

It requires no stretch of imagination to conclude that during these sixty-two silent years of the Irish Annals, 781-843, the royal race of Loarn reigned quietly in Dalriada. However, an opportunity came, when royalists appeared among them, in Alpin and his son Kenneth, who were equal to the occasion.

The cause of the Scottish conquest, and the elevation of Kenneth may be gathered from the Annals of that period. We learn that the marauding Danes were infesting the shores of Pictland, when a great battle was fought in Fortren, where three of their kings and an innumerable number of their people were slain. "839. *Bellum ri genntib for firu Fortrenn in quo Eoganan MacOengusa acus Bran MacOengusa acus Aod MacBoanta et alii (pene) innumerabilis ceciderunt.*" (Annals of Ulster.)

The Pictish calamity seems to have been the opportunity of the house of Loarn, for Alpin, the father of Kenneth, issued from the seclusion of his kingdom Dalriada, and attacked them right and left when in this plight. This must have taken place between the disaster of the Picts in 839 and the conquest of his son Kenneth in 843—being the three years he is said in the Latin lists to have reigned. It it worthy of note that the Pictish kings up till 839 are frequently recorded in the Chronicles and Irish Annals, but after this date, except two nominal kings, who reigned three and one years respectively, we hear of no further resistance by Pictish kings; but we learn of Alpin slaying many Pictish nobles, and of his son Kenneth over-running all Pictland and destroying many Picts. But not a word about kings, which would indicate that it was the disorganised extremity of the Picts which occasioned their being conquered by a much smaller nation.

DR. SKENE'S THEORIES ABOUT THE ERA OF ALPIN AND KENNETH.

On the authority of the Chronicle of Huntingdon alone Dr. Skene builds fanciful theories regarding their era, contrary to all other documents. He tells us "The Chronicle of Huntingdon contains an account of events in the life of Alpin and his son Kenneth which are not to be found elsewhere—that blanks occur in the narrative which had fortunately been interwoven by Fordon in his own account of these reigns." (Pref. Chron. of Scots and Picts, clxxxvii.) This Chronicle ante-dates the eras of Alpin and his son Kenneth by nine years. Of Henry of Huntingdon Pinkerton says: "Nicolson has well branded him as fabulous and confused, and as for Fordon's blending he characterises it as fables. (Enq., Vol. II., pp. 153-156.)

With these doubtful premises Dr. Skene proceeds to say: "If Kenneth succeeded Alpin in 834, as recorded in the Chronicle of Huntingdon and restored by Fordon, and reigned

28 years, this would place his death in 862. The Irish Annals record his death in 858, but the Pictish Chronicle enables us to fix the exact year, for it states that he died in the Ides of February on the third day of the week, and the Ides of February fell on a Tuesday in 860. This Chronicle, therefore, post-dates the commencement of his reign two years, which really began in the year 832, the seventh year of his reign thus falls in year 839." (Pref., Chron. of Picts and Scots, clxxxviii.)

We see here that Skene commences his theories hypothetically and ends them as facts, from which he draws the following inferences:—

First. He tortures the paragraph so as to make the Pictish Chronicle appear to prove that Kenneth commenced to reign in 832, whereas it only proves that the third day of the week in the Ides of February took place in 860 instead of 858.

Second. Based on the date 832, he says the seventh year of his reign was 839, which was the year the Picts were overthrown, which enabled Kenneth to obtain possession of their territory. The Pictish Chronicle tells us he was at a different business in the seventh year of his reign, to wit, transporting the relics of Saint Columba (from Iona) to a church he constructed (in Pictland). This would be after peace and order were restored. "*Septimo anno regni sui reliquias Sancti Columbe transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit.*" (The Pictish Chronicle.)

Third. "That the twelfth year of Kenneth's reign, which falls in the year 844, he defeated the Picts seven times in one day and confirmed his kingdom." This is only a repetition from the Huntingdon Chronicle.

Fourth. Dr. Skene ends his theories as he commenced them, saying: "If he reigned 28 years this leaves sixteen years of his reign, which is the length of the reign given to him in the Pictish Chronicle after the last king of the Picts."

Why not cut off the alleged first twelve years of his reign, seeing his authorities are so very doubtful? That would upset all his calculations based on Flann and the Duan, who say that Kenneth reigned thirty years.

KENNETH MACALPIN.

Kenneth is unknown in history till 843. Pinkerton, who is pretty clear in his chronology from and after this date, says: "The chronology of this period is sufficiently exact and easily adjusted by computing the number of years each king reigned according to the old lists and chronicles published by Innes, from the fixed date of the accession of Kenneth to the Pictish throne in 843." (Enq., Vol. II., p. 175.) All the Latin Annals (except the Chronicle of Huntingdon) from that of the Pictish Chronicle, written in the tenth century, till that of the Metrical Chronicle, written in the fourteenth century, say that Kenneth reigned over the united Picts and Scots sixteen years. And the Annals of Innisfallen and Ulster say that he died in 858, showing that he commenced to reign about 843. There is the little difference of two years no doubt between the Irish Annals, which say that he died in 858, and the Pictish Chronicle, which records his death in 860. Both dates appear to be easily reconciled, as Pinkerton says the Irish Annals are often a few years ante-dated. The Latin lists make it 859¼ years.

The Pictish Chronicle says that Kenneth ruled in Dalriada two years before he ascended the Pictish throne, *i.e.*, he succeeded his father Alpin in 843 as king of the united Scots and Picts. At the end of two years he removed his seat of government to Scone and Forteviot, and died in the latter place in 860. Thus, from 845 to the beginning of 860, both inclusive, make about sixteen years. "*Kinadius igitur filius Alpini primus Scottorum* *rexit feliciter istam annis XVI. Pictaviam—Is te vero biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam Dalriete regnum suscepit—Mortuus est tandem tumore ani, idus Februarii feria tertia in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.*"—(The Pictish Chron.)

CONCLUSION.

The glorious history of the Scots of Argyle, although long under a cloud, is still enshrined in the imperishable annals of their country. Antiquarians declare that the Scots were originally of Scythic origin—a nation who were constantly on the motion on the Continent, "peopling the earth." This race made their appearance in Ireland about the beginning of the Christian era, and soon thereafter brought the native Irish under their sway. Saint Patrick, in his confessions, speaks of the Scots always as kings and nobles—terms which he never applies to the native Irish. About the middle of the third century, Cairbri Riada, one of the race, distinguished himself in Ireland, and extended his conquest to North Britain. His followers were known by the names of Dalriads and Attacotts. The first body assumed the leader's name; they were situated on the west of Lochfyne, and the Attacotts, or Hither-Scots, were located between Lochfyne and the river Leven. This colony of the Scots was co-eval with the Picts under their new appellation, and contended with them against the Romans and Britons for upwards of one hundred and fifty years. After the departure of the Romans the Attacotts appear to have followed in their wake, as we find distinguished bodies of them on both sides of the Adriatic in the Roman service. The Scots' colony was thus weakened, and the departure of the Romans made the Picts intolerant towards their old faithful allies, whom they ultimately drove back to Ireland. After remaining there about half a century, a second colony of them, on a more extended scale, returned under the leadership of the three sons of Erc, and repossessed Dalriada, which then extended from Drumalbin to the Irish Sea and Inchgall, *i.e.*, Drumalbin went in a straight line from Loch Lomond to Loch Broom. On the western side of this line the kingdom of Dalriada was situated, which also included the Hebrides that ran parallel with it. This was the cradle of the Scottish race and of royalty in Britain for three hundred and forty years, to wit, from Fergus, son of Erc, in 503, to Kenneth MacAlpin, in 843, when the latter united the Scots and Picts, and transferred the seat of government from Dalriada to Forteviot, where he died. During the Dalriadic kingdom religion and letters radiated from it over Britain and parts of the Continent. The prowess and fame of this noble race went far and near, but to rehearse their deeds any further would only be to repeat what I have narrated already. I shall therefore end this Part with a quotation from Father Innes, who says: "From King Fergus the II., son of Erch, till King James the VI., the last of our kings who resided in Scotland, and the First of Great Britain, we have sixty-three kings hereditarily succeeding one another in a lineal descent of thirty-seven degrees during the space of eleven hundred years, which is a greater antiquity than any hereditary monarch in Europe of one uninterrupted race can pretend to."

PART SECOND.

ROYAL INCIDENTS IN ARGYLE BETWEEN 843 AND 1056.

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONNECTION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SCOTLAND WITH ARGYLE.

AFTER the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth MacAlpin, in 843, Argyle ceased to be a distinct kingdom, and formed only an integral part of modern Scotland. Still, the royal race of Dalriada, though removed to Forteviot, Scone, and Dunfermline, considered Argyle as their last resting place—wherever they died—and for twenty generations (except kings Constantine III. and Culen) they were all buried in Iona. Iona to the Scots had the same attraction as Sion had to the Jews, and it might with equal propriety be said of them—

> "For in her rubbish and her stones
> Thy servants pleasure take;
> Yea, they the very dust thereof
> Do favour for her sake."
>
> —*Psalm cii.* 14.

SCOTS KINGS BURIED IN IONA.

1. Kenneth MacAlpin, reigned 16 years. Died at Forteviot, and was buried in the Island of Iona.
2. Donald MacAlpin, reigned 4 years. Died at Rathinveramon, at the confluence of the Almond and the Tay, near Scone, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

3. Constantinus MacKenneth, reigned 15 years. Was slain in battle by the Norwegians at Merdo fotha, in Strathalan, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

4. Aed MacKenneth, reigned 1 year. Was slain in battle in Strathalan by Grig, son of Dungal (who was associated with him in the government), and was buried in the Island of Iona.

5. Grig MacDungal, reigned 12 years. Died at Dundurn, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

6. Donald MacConstantin, reigned 11 years. Died at Forres, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

Constantin MacAeda, reigned 40 years. Became a monk of the Culdees at St. Andrews, and was buried there.

7. Malcom MacDonald, reigned 9 years. Was slain by the men of Moray, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

8. Indulf MacConstantin, reigned 9 years. Was slain by the Norwegians at Innercolan, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

9. Duf MacMalcom, reigned 4 years and 6 months. Was treacherously slain at Forres, and hidden under the bridge at Kinloss. The sun was eclipsed at the time. He was buried in the Island of Iona.

Culen MacIndulf, reigned 4 years and 6 months, and was slain by the Britons in the Lothians.

10. Kenneth MacMalcom, reigned 24 years and 2 months. Was slain at Fettercairn, by the treachery of Finnele, daughter of Cunchar, Thane of Angus, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

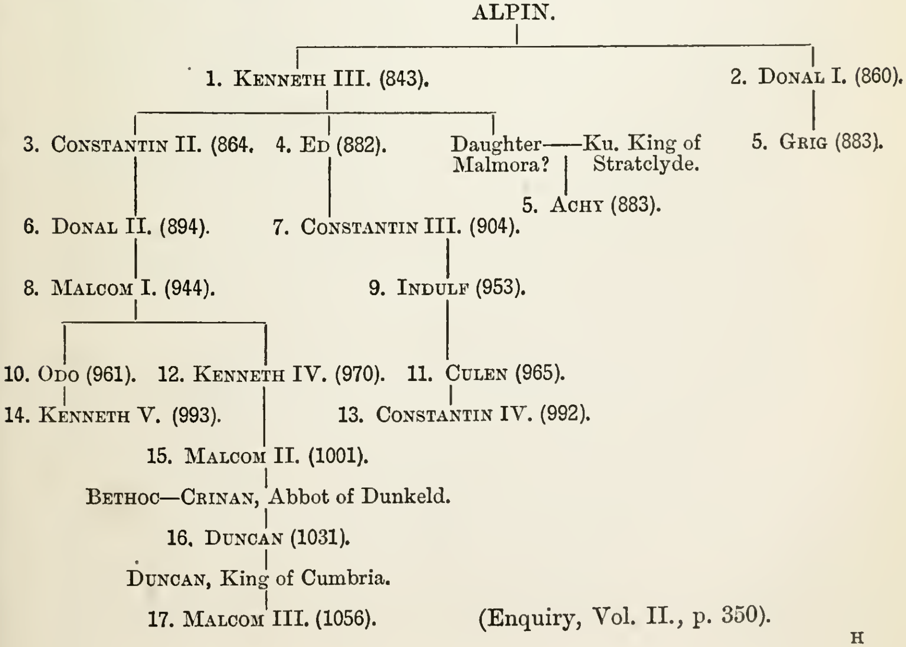
11. Constantin MacCulen, reigned 1 year and 6 months. Was slain by Kenneth MacMalcom at Rathinveramon, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

12. Malcom MacKenneth, reigned victorious for thirty years. Died at Glamis, and was buried in the Island of Iona.

13. Duncan MacCrinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, and Bethok, daughter of Malcom MacKenneth, were slain by Macbeth at Bothngounane, near Elgin, and were buried in the Island of Iona.
14. Macbeth MacFinlaig, reigned 17 years. Was slain at Lumfanan, by Malcom MacDuncan, and was buried in the Island of Iona.
15. Lulach fatuous, reigned 4 months. Was slain at Esseg, in Strathbolgie, and was buried in the Island of Iona.
16. Malcom MacDuncan, reigned 37 years and 8 months. Was slain at Alnwick, and was buried in Iona.
17. Donald MacDuncan (Donald Bàn), reigned 3 years and 6 months. Died at Rescobie. Was buried at Dunkeld; afterwards his bones were buried in Iona.

—(*Chronicles of the Scots and Picts, A.D.*, 1187–1251.)

Annexed is a table of the genealogy of the kings of Scotland from Alpin to Malcom Canmore, giving the years they began to reign, according to Pinkerton. He omits Macbeth, Lulach, and Donald Bàn, who are among those buried in Iona.



(Enquiry, Vol. II., p. 350).

CHAPTER II.

THE DANISH INVASION OF COWAL IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

THE evidence of the Danish invasion of Cowal in the tenth century is found scattered, and frequently referred to in the ancient Irish and Welsh annals. But, hitherto, though such an important event, no attempt has been made to show how, where, and by whom this invasion took place, nor of the effective manner in which the invaders were overthrown by the Scots and their allies.

The early deeds and appearances of the Danes and Scandinavians are so discordant and so fancifully described by modern historians, as to make it necessary, before I proceed further, to mention the names by which these nations were known, the extent of their territories, and the true distinctions made by the old annalists in their appearance as compared with the conflicting and fanciful descriptions given by modern historians.

Regarding their names, we find them in history termed Nordmans or Norwegians, Ostmen or Danes, also Pagans, Gentiles, Vikings, &c. In the Irish Annals they are at first called Galls or foreigners; Genntib or heathens; and Lochlannaigh or Lakelanders.

Their territories in the widest sense, according to the latter appellation, include all the land north of the Rhine, as may be seen in a Gaelic MS. of the eighth or ninth century—entitled "*Slogha Cheasair in Inis Bhreatan.*" "*Ceasar thainig go leigionibh lan iomdhaidh do ogaibh ainseire na Headail leis an garbh fhearan na Gallia agus tire leathan fhada Lochlain. Ar is aoin tir iadsan acht edarchuigheacht sroth Rein roghlain ag* *dlutha agus ag dealughadh na da fhearan sin.*" Which means in English—"Cæsar came with some entire legions of the ruthless youths of Italy into the rough land of Gaul, and the wide and long country of Lochlin. For these two are one and the same country, but for the interposition of the clear current of the Rhine, which divides and sunders the two lands."—(H.S. Report on Ossian's Poems, p. 309.)

The Irish made a distinction between the Danes and Norwegians. The Danes, from their fair hair and complexion, they called Fionghaill, and the Norwegians, from their dark hair and complexion, they termed Dubhghaill.

The commencement of the confusion about the appearance of the Danes and Norwegians can be traced to the Irish seanachies of the seventeenth century. The editor of the "Annals of the Four Masters" says: "A distinction was made by the Irish between the Danes and Norwegians from the colour of their hair and complexion—the Danes, according to Duald MacFirbis and others, being denominated Dubh-Lochlainaigh, signifying Black-lake-landers, being chiefly dark haired; and the Norwegians Fionn-Lochlannaigh or White-lake-landers, being mostly of a fair complexion, with fair or reddish hair."—(F.M. 460, f.n.) MacFirbis, shortly before his death (he was killed in 1670), had been employed by Sir James Ware in collecting and translating Irish MSS. This accounts for Sir James propagating this mistake. On this point he says—"Some divide the men of the North and East into Normans and Ostmen, Dubhgalls and Fionngalls. The Dubhgalls, or black foreigners, means Danes, and the Fionngalls, or white foreigners, the Norwegians."—(Ware's Antiq. of Ireland, CVI., p. 19.)

The Seanachies' mistakes have been perpetuated by Skene in his "History of the Highlanders," and by Brown in his "Highland Clans." Pinkerton, on the other hand, reverses the idea, but accounts for the distinction in a new way. He says—"In the old Irish writers, as 'Tighernac' and the 'Annals of Ulster,' &c., Fingal, or white strangers, is a name uniformly given to the Danes, as Dugal, or black stranger, is the peculiar name of the Norwegians." He gives the cause of distinction by saying "Mr. Thorkelin, a learned native of Iceland, informs me that the old dress of the Norwegians, and especially of the pirates and mariners, was black, as the Icelander's is at this day, and has always been."—(Enq., Vol. II., p. 74.) The new idea about the black dress has been adopted by Donald Gregory in his "Western Highlands and Islands," and by Robertson in his "Scotland under her Early Kings." It is surprising it did not occur to Pinkerton and his followers that the doings of the Dugals and the Fingals were a matter of history in Ireland many years before Iceland had been inhabited. We learn that Iceland had only been discovered about the year 860, and colonised in the year 874.—(M'Kenzie's Travels in Iceland, Edin., 1811.) These fanciful opinions are never at an end. In referring to this, John Hill Burton says: "We find in the Celtic Annals that these unwelcome visitors are first called White Strangers (Fingalls), and afterwards Black Strangers (Dugalls). The former term, no doubt, applied to the fairness of their complexion and hair. This was conspicuous wherever they went. Its possession in this purity was indeed a mark of proper caste. The other term (Black Strangers) must have had a casual origin. These dreaded visitors stood under scandal with the polished Celt and Saxons of being careless in their ablutions and apt to carry with them a tarry atmosphere. The trowsers besmeared with tar were among the reproaches thrown on the great Regnar Lodbroic himself and his refined captives. Perhaps, however, the attribute of black may have had a more dignified origin. The Norsemen were the earliest people in modern Europe to encase the body in iron armour. At how early a period they may have done so is not known. Its form was chain-linked or ring-mail, and such a covering would always be dark; even were the wearers as zealous for appearance as their descendants of crusading times, they could not burnish their chain armour."—(Hist. of Scot., Vol. I., pp. 345–6.)

The Norsemen or Norwegians mentioned in the Irish Annals from 793 till about 850 are invariably termed Galls and Genntib, but from the arrival of the Danes or Finngalls, about the latter date, till about 920, the two nations are distinguished by the terms Dubhghalls or Norwegians, Fionngalls or Danes. This distinction seems to have been given up about the latter date, as the term Gall is simply used, and in later times Dugal and Fingal were adopted as proper names.

If we descend to our own times it is patent to all who have visited Norway, that the genuine natives of that country along the sea coast, from the Nase to Lapland, and also of the island of Iceland, are as swarthy and dark haired as the natives of the West of Scotland; but on the other hand, along the shores of Denmark and Sweden the inhabitants invariably have fair or reddish hair, with sallow or florid complexion. This distinction does not arise from a difference of race, as many foolishly imagine, but from natural causes, which can be easily accounted for, viz.: From soil, climate, and the effects of the gulf stream. It is a well-known fact that the great body of tepid water called the Gulf Stream flows from the tropics northwards, past the west of Britain and Ireland, and along the coast of Norway, keeping all the lochs and fiords free of ice during winter. The warm vapours arising out of it are either attracted by the mountains, or driven towards them by the south or west winds which prevail during the greater part of the year. The air on the land being much colder than on the sea, particularly during the fall of the year, causes the vapours to descend in superabundance of rain, so as to darken the air and charge the soil like a soaked sponge. The late Dr. Livingstone observes that warm moisture darkens the colour of Africans. He says: "Heat alone does not cause blackness, but heat and moisture combined do materially darken the colour. Where we find people who have lived for ages in a humid district, they are deep black." (Travels in Africa, ch. xviii. p. 338: London, 1857.)

On the other hand, the effect of the Gulf Stream is not felt in Denmark. It never enters the German Ocean nor the Baltic Sea. During winter the Baltic Sea is frozen up, and also the bays and rivers south of it on the coast of Denmark. The rainfall in summer is much less there than on the coast of Norway, and what does fall is instantly absorbed by the sandy soil which prevails everywhere.

We thus see that the Norwegians or Dubhghalls dwell in an exceedingly damp climate, and that the Danes or Finngalls are situated in one the reverse of that. The soil of Denmark being sandy imparts its sallow tinge to the complexion of its inhabitants, and the bleaching effects of the sun on the human hair is well known. We often see in this country the hair of children, and even of adults, who go about bareheaded in summer getting like half-bleached flax and remaining so until the duskiness of winter restores it to its wonted colour. But the bleaching process of the hair goes on all the year round in Denmark. The dry summers and frosty winters of that country do not effect a corresponding change on the hair and complexion, as on the west coast, which is subject to the Gulf Stream. The same remarks are applicable to the distinction of Tacitus, which has been retailed threadbare, viz., "That the fair or red hair of the Caledonians betokened a German extraction, while the dark hair and complexion of the Silures indicated a Spanish origin." The same natural causes, to a certain extent, operated on the appearance of the Caledonians and Silures which they did on the Finngalls and Dubhgalls. The Silures who inhabited the mountains of South Wales were subject to the darkening effects of the Gulf

Stream, whereas the Caledonians, with whom Agricola came in contact, were situated along the German Ocean, where the Gulf Stream is not felt. The climate there being comparatively dry, and the soil being generally sandy or of red clay, gave its tinge of colour to the hair and complexion of the inhabitants.

In a word, there is no proof whatever that the Germans found a footing on the East of Scotland, where Tacitus says there is a resemblance between them and the Caledonians. But on the other hand, we have positive proof that the Hebrides were occupied and ruled by the Norwegians for upwards of four hundred years (793-1263), where they have left many traces of their history and language. If the Norwegians were the fair-haired, light-complexioned people alleged, there would be more traces of their appearance and deeds in the Western Islands than anywhere else in Scotland; but strange to say our would-be philosophers find there only the last wave of the Celtic race—the degenerate, swarthy, black-haired Gael, pure and simple.

What an amount of sheer nonsense and vicious deductions have resulted from the writings on Races by such men as Pinkerton and M'Culloch—idle speculations which were recently adopted as ascertained facts by Johnston in his Physical Geography. With this necessary digression on the names, possessions and distinctive appearances of the Danes and Norwegians, I shall now resume the subject by dividing the narrative into three sections.

Section First traces the movements of these nations from their first appearance on the Western Coast in 793 till their invasion of Cowal in 918.

Section Second discusses the place of battle, the era in which it occurred, and the mistake of putting persons for places.

Section Third submits local evidence—both the local tradition and landmarks of these engagements—which corroborates the Irish Annals.

Section I.

The Dubhgalls or Norwegians, according to the ancient histories of Ireland and Wales, seem to have preceded the Danes upwards of fifty years. Gerald of Wales, in his topography of Ireland, written about the middle of the twelfth century, has five chapters on the depredations committed by the Dubhgalls (Dist. III., chap. 37-41.) He mentions two of their distinguished leaders, namely, Gurmund and Turgis. Gerald is not clear about the part played by Gurmund, and others are sceptical of his existence; but Usher says it was commonly believed by the Irish that Gurmund played a prominent part. He further says: "Gurmund, and after him Turgesius, notable pagans of Norway, conquered and ruled in Ireland in the ninth century of the Christian era." "*Gurmundi ac postea Turgesuis Norwegensis principes pagani in Hibernia debelata regnabant qui nono post Christian seculo.*" (Usher's Brit. Ecc., Primord pp. 571-915.)

In the "Annals of Ulster" (Brit. Mus., see Pinkerton's Enquiry) the early deeds of the Norwegians are thus recorded: "793. The wasting of all the islands of Britain by the Gentiles. 794. Burning of Reachrain by the Gentiles. 797. Spoils of the sea between Ireland and Scotland by the Gentiles. 801. Aoi of Columkille burnt by the Gentiles. 805. Sixty-eight of the family of Aoi were slain by the Gentiles."

The depredations of Gurmund seem to have been confined chiefly to the Western Islands, but Turgis, his successor, in the first year of his career (815), invaded Ireland with a powerful fleet and brought it into subjection. (Four Masters, p. 466, f.n.)

Turgis afterwards resided at his fortress in Dublin, and at Dun Turgis in West Meath, and had his fleet stationed on the great lakes and estuaries throughout Ireland, from which he ravaged the adjacent territories. After thirty years of lawlessness he was waylaid and slain by the natives. (Four Masters, p. 467, f.n.)

About the time of Turgesius' death the Finngalls or Danes made their first appearance in Ireland (845-848). The Annals of the Four Masters says: "In 847, A.D,, a fleet of 140 ships of the king of the Gaill, or foreigners, came to Ireland *to attack the foreigners who were there before them,* so that between both they disturbed all Erin." (Ib. p. 468.) Their appearance seems to have created such a sensation in Ireland that their mere name, Finngallians or the white strangers, is the only record in the Annals of Ulster (B.M.) for the year 850.

According to Sir James Ware they landed first at Dublin and possessed themselves of the neighbouring country, which in his day was called Finngall. (Ware's Antiq., p. 59.)

The Dubhgalls or Norwegians who preceded them upwards of fifty years (as already mentioned) took umbrage at the intrusion of their fair-haired brethren and came to Dublin with a fleet of 140 ships (or as others have it 240 ships) and a bloody battle ensued, when the Danes of Dublin had the worst of it and Dublin was plundered by the victors. (Ware's Antiq., pp. 58-9.)

The Danes did not lose heart, for the combat was renewed the following year, and the engagement was so important that it is the only event recorded in the Annals of Ulster (B.M.) for the year 851. "Battle between the White Gentiles and Black Gentiles."

The editor of the Four Masters further says regarding this engagement: "About the years 850 and 851 the Norwegians with 160 ships came to battle with the Danes at Snamh Ednach or Carlingford Lough, and having fought with great fury on both sides for three days and three nights, the Danes at length were victorious, and the Norwegians were at last obliged to leave their ships in their hands." (P. 468, f.n.)

We thus learn that from 847 to 853, a period of six years, these foreigners attacked each other with varying successes, and, according to the Irish Annals, disturbed all Erin.

In the latter year of these conflicts (853)—according to Ware—Aulaiv Sitric, and Ivar, three brothers called Easterlings or Danes, came in a great fleet and landed in Ireland, to whom all the Danes in Ireland submitted. (Antiq. p. 59.) Gerald of Wales, in other words, says the same thing, viz.: "Not long after the death of Turgesius some adventurers called Ostmen arrived in Ireland. These foreigners had for leaders three brothers, Amelaus, Sytaracus, and Yvorus." (Dist. III., chap. 43, p. 153.)

Not only did the Danes of Ireland submit to these leaders, but the Annals of Ulster (B.M.) shows that the submission had been more general. It says: "In 853, Aulaiv, king of Lochlin, came to Ireland, and all the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and he had rent from the Irish." Thus showing that he and his brothers, Sitric and Ivar, had conquered the whole inhabitants of Ireland.

From this date till the end of this dynasty of Danish kings, which ceased about the year 948, we learn little or nothing of the doings of the Norwegians as a ruling power in Ireland and the Western Islands.

THE ERA OF THE DANISH REGULI IN IRELAND.

Aulaiv, and Ivar his brother, ruled from	853 to 872.
Ostin, son of Aulaiv, ruled from -	872 to 875.
Godfrey, son of Ivar, ruled from -	875 to 888.
Sytrig, the son of Ivar, governed from	888 to 892.
Sytrig and Godfred Merle, jointly ruled from	892 to 896.
Ivar, the son of Ivar, governed from -	896 to 904.
Reginald, the son of Ivar, ruled from -	904 to 921.
Godfrey, the son, governed from -	921 to 934.
Aulaiv, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	934 to 941.
Blackvar, the son of Godfrey, ruled from	941 to 948.
Godfrey, the son of Sytrig, - -	948.

(Chalmers' Caledonia, Vol. I., pp. 378-379.)

When these pirate kings got both the foreigners and natives to submit to them, Aulaiv took possession of Dublin as the seat of his power; Ivar of Limerick and Sitric of Waterford, but Lochstrangford, which in the Annals of Ulster is called Lochdacaech, was their chief resort when driven from Dublin in 902 and 917. But Dublin was the chief seat of their power, the mart of their plunder, and the scene of their dissensions. (Chalmers' Caledonia, Vol. I., p. 378, f.n.) Regarding the situation of Lochdacaech, the Four Masters, Doctors Reeve, Skene, and others, place it at Waterford, but Chalmers affirms it to be Lochstrangford. I do not pretend to say which is right, but for several reasons would be inclined to think that Lochstrangford is the place meant, it being situated in the centre of their field of depredations. From its shallowness it was admirably suited for their galleys, and the entrance to it being narrow was easily defended. Within its basin they had spacious and safe accommodation, and in every respect it was an excellent harbour of refuge.

These Danish-Irish kings invaded other parts of Scotland on a large scale on three different occasions before they invaded Cowal in the year 918.

The Annals of Ulster says: In 865 Aulaiv and his nobility went to Fortren together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland, and spoiled the Cruithne or Picts, and brought their hostages with them. In 869, Ailcluith, or the rock of the Clyde, was besieged by the Normans (Ostmen), Olaiv, and Ivar; these two Norman kings blockaded the place for four months and at last destroyed it. (Johnston's Celto-Normanica.) In the following year Olaiv and Ivar returned to Dublin with 200 ships laden with booty; also many *Anglorum, Britanorum, et Pictorum*, to wit, the Anglo-Saxons of West Lothian, the Britons of Strathclyde and the Picts of North Britain.

The third expedition was made by Ivar O'Ivar in the year

904. The Annals of Ulster says: "Ivar O'Ivar killed by the men of Fortren, with a great slaughter about him." Chalmers explains this event by saying: "In the year 904, the Danes of Ireland, under Ivar O'Ivar, invaded North Britain on the west, and having penetrated into the country eastward with a view to the plunder of Forteviot, the Scottish capital, they were bravely encountered and their leader killed." (Cale., Vol. I., p. 384.)

This Ivar O'Ivar appears to have been the third son of Ivar, the brother of Aulaiv. At his death he left three sons—Reginald, Sitric, and Godfrey—who followed hard in the turbulent footsteps of their forefathers. A few years after the death of their father we find them fighting among themselves at the Isle of Man. (Celto-Normanica.)

Reginald, the son of Ivar, was obliged to maintain his authority by force, and as would seem, desiring to possess North Britain, as his progenitors possessed Ireland, formed a vast army —(Pinkerton's Enquiry, Vol. II., p. 182)—and, according to Chalmers, conducted the Vikings from Lochdacaech *to the fatal shore of Loch Fyne in Cowal.* (Chalmers' Caledonia, Vol. I., p. 386, f.n.)

Section II.

Having thus endeavoured to trace the movements of these foreigners from their first appearance in 793, till their invasion of Cowal in 918, I come now to the second section, and shall endeavour to correct the mistaken ideas about the place of battle—the era in which it occurred—and the substitution of persons for places.

THE PLACE OF BATTLE.

Till within a few years it was generally believed that this invasion was made from Ireland on some spot about the banks of the Clyde. But the idea has taken a new phase. Mr. E. W.

Robertson, author of the book called "Scotland under her early kings" (published in Edinburgh in 1862), imagines that he has made the discovery that this battle had been fought, instead of at the Clyde, near the river Tyne in Yorkshire. As others have since too confidently followed this author, more particularly Dr. M'Lauchlan in his "Early Scottish Church" (Edinburgh, 1865), and Colonel Robertson in his "Gael of Alban" (Edinburgh, 1866), it will be necessary to quote what Mr. Robertson says on this point before showing the fallacy of his statement.

He begins saying (in the year 917): "Reginald, known by this time as king of the Dubhgalls, with his brother Godfrey, and the two jarls, Ottir and Gragaba,. leaving the harbours of Waterford, sailed for the northern shores of England to assert the claims of the Dubhgalls as heir of his kinsman, the Danish halfden, to the fertile lands of Northumbria. Landing (in 918) amongst the kindred Danes of the north, Reginald marched at once upon York, seizing upon and portioning out amongst his followers and allies the whole of the sacred patrimony of Saint Cuthbert, with many a broad acre besides. Edred and his kinsmen, whose territories extended from the Tyne to the Forth, abandoning their dominions at the approach of the Norsemen, implored the aid of the Scottish Constantine to stem the torrent of invasion. In Constantine they found a prompt ally, and strengthened by the support of the Scottish, the Northumbrian leaders prepared with renewed courage to march against the foe. The hostile armies met on the moor near Corbridge-on-Tyne, where Reginald, who had decided upon awaiting the attack of the confederates, held his immediate followers in reserve in a position where they were concealed from the assailants. He ranged the main body of his army in three divisions, under the command respectively of his brother Godfrey, the two jarls, and the chieftains to whom the Irish give the title of the Young Leaders. So impetuous was the onset of the Scots and Northumbrians that on the first shock the Norsemen were overthrown. The heaviest loss fell on the followers of the jarls, a contingency which Reginald had probably calculated, as they bore the brunt of the battle. Animated at their success, and anxious to improve their advantages, the allies pursued eagerly onwards, regardless of the enemy's reserve, which Reginald now poured upon the flank and rear of the victors, disordered in the confusion of pursuit, inflicting in his turn severe loss, and restoring the fortune of the day. Edred was slain in the final struggle, with many of his Northumbrian followers, who appear to have suffered most severely, until the approach of night separated the combatants and put a stop to a contest which led to no decisive results." (Vol. I., pp. 57-59.)

The authorities given by Mr. Robertson for his glowing and fanciful description of the battle, are Simeon of Durham's Life of St. Cuthbert, the Pictish Chronicle, the Saxon Chronicle, and the Annals of Ulster.

Having examined copies of said authorities, I have to say that none of them, nor the whole put together, will bear Mr. Robertson out in his statements. Taking these old annalists in the above order, I will allow them to speak for themselves. Simeon of Durham says: "During the period that Edward was governor of the kingdom (910–915), not only of the Western Saxons, but of the Eastern Angles and Northumbrians, a certain pagan king, named Reingwold, landed on the Northumbrian shore with a large fleet; without any delay he broke in upon York, and either killed or drove out of the country the most influential of the inhabitants." — (The Historical Works of Simeon of Durham, translated from the original by the Rev. Jos. Stevenson, ch. 31, p. 667, London, 1856.) The Pictish Chronicle, a document of the tenth century, and transcribed at York in the fourteenth century, says: "In the eighteenth year of Constantine the Third, the battle of Tinmore was fought between Constantine and Regnall, and the Scots were victorious —*Bellum Tinmore factum est in* XVIII. *anno inter Constantinum et Regnall et Scotti habuerant victoriam.*"

The Saxon Chronicle says: "In the year 923, Regnold took York by force.—*Anno* DCCCCXXIII., *hoc anno Regnoldus rex epugnavit Eboracum.*"

And the Annals of Ulster (in B.M., see Pinkerton's Enquiry), runs thus:—"The Gentiles of Lochdacaech left Ireland and went for Scotland—the men of Scotland, with the assistance of the northern Saxons, prepared before them. The Gentiles divided themselves into four battles or battalions, viz., one by Godfrey O'Ivar, another by the two earls, the third by the young lords, and the fourth by Rannall MacBiolach, who lay in ambush that the Scots did not see; but the Scots overthrew them they saw; that they had a great slaughter of them about Otter and Gragava; but Rannall gave the onset behind the Scots that he had the killing of many of them, only that neither king nor murmor was lost in the conflict. The night discharged the battle."

It will be observed that Simeon of Durham never refers to King Constantine and the Scots being engaged at York against Reingwold the pagan, neither does the Saxon Chronicle. Therefore, so far as Scotland is concerned, their evidence goes for nothing.

On the other hand, the Pictish Chronicle states that it was a battle between Constantine and Regnall, and that the Scots were victorious. In this case the English are ignored. It may be further observed, if the alleged war was undertaken in behalf of the Northumbrians, how was their name, and also the death of King Edred, omitted from the Chronicle? The Annals of Ulster distinctly says that neither king nor murmor was slain in this battle.

But some might be ready to ask how were the Northern Saxons the allies of the Scots on this occasion? The answer is easily given. It was not necessary to go to York for the Saxons' assistance, as the Northern Saxons, since the year 547, were in possession of the Lothians (which in old charters were called Saxonia). Their territories reached as far west as the river Esk, while the Angles possessed settlements beyond that river, along the south side of the Forth, as far as Abercorn.—(Skene's Chron., pref. 79.)

From this it is obvious that the Scots and Saxons were living contiguous to one another on both sides of the river Forth. Consequently, nothing would be more natural than that they should make common cause against their mutual enemies, the Danes and Norwegians.

Apart from Mr. E. W. Robertson, and a few followers, all antiquarians of any note who have treated of this subject show that this invasion of 918 was made from Ireland, on the west of Scotland.

Chalmers, in his Caledonia, says: "The invasion was made from Ireland, by the Danes, under Reginald, who directed his fleet into the Clyde."—(Vol. I., p. 385.)

Pinkerton says: "The reign of Constantin III. was famous for two remarkable battles. The first happened in his eighteenth year, or 921, and the other in his thirty-fourth year, 937. The Annals of Ulster give a long account of the first memorable engagement. The Norwegians and Danes of Ireland, desiring, as would seem, fully to possess North Britain as they did Ireland, formed a vast army and landed in North Britain. Constantin, foreseeing the danger, had wisely formed an alliance with the Northern Saxons, as the Annals of Ulster calls them, that is, the people of Northumbria, still separated from the English by their Danish kings, who naturally sought assistance from North Britain to support them from the kings of England, and were thus bound by reciprocal ties. The enemy formed in four divisions—the first commanded by Godfred, the two next by different earls and chiefs, the fourth and last by Reginald. Constantin defeated the three first with great slaughter, but Reginald attacking him in the rear, the battle became dubious, when night put an end to the engagement. The Danes returned to Ireland without effecting anything, so that the Chron. Pict. says, not improperly, that Constantin had the victory. This engagement was so great that it is the only one particularly described in the Annals of Ulster, which generally only say there was a battle in such a place between such a man and such another.—(Enq., Vol. II., pp. 82–3.)

The Four Masters says: "The Galls went from Loughdacaech to Alba, and Constantine, the son of Aedh, gave them battle."

J. J. A. Worsaae, in his book, "The Danes and Norwegians in Scotland," says: "In the beginning of the tenth century the Scotch king, Constantine III., in conjunction with the more northern Anglo-Saxons, beat the Danes, who had passed over from Dublin under Reginald and Godfrey O'Ivar, in a great battle near the Clyde."—(Sect. IV., p. 180, London, 1852.)

In looking into Robertson's plausible story, we see it is founded on two names—Reginald and Tinmore. Regarding the first he infers that because a certain Reingwold made some depredations at York, between the years 910 and 923, the same must be Reginald, the Danish-Irish king who invaded Scotland in 918. Chalmers observes: "Among the Danish reguli of Ireland and Northumberland, this name occurs so frequently that different persons are often confounded."—Cal., Vol. I., p. 388, f.n.) This is certainly a case in point. As regards Tinmore, the only document that mentions this name is the Pictish Chronicle, but it does not say where that place was, nor am I aware that any author who has copied from that Chronicle, with the exception of Robertson and his followers, has condescended to fix its locality. It is probable that Robertson, seeing a resemblance between the river Tyne and Tinmore, rushed to the conclusion that he had made a discovery.

THE DATE OF BATTLE.

The second mistake which I shall briefly notice is the date of this battle (fixed on the recent Government survey maps). I can easily conceive how the surveyors have dated these battles the eleventh instead of the tenth century.

Having had some conversation on this subject with Mr. Lyon, R.E., the head of the Surveying Department in that locality, in 1863, I clearly understood that he placed much reliance on the account supplied in 1790–91 by the Rev. John MacKinnon, parish minister of Kilmodan, to Sir John Sinclair, for his ecclesiastical statistics. I have no doubt that Mr. Lyon recommended this evidence to his superiors, and that the dates inferred had been adopted accordingly.

Mr. MacKinnon's statement on this event is as follows:—"The most ancient name of this parish is Gleann-du-uisg, signifying the glen of black water. Afterwards a battle was fought by Meckan, the son of Magnus, king of Norway, and the Albuins or Gail, when it is said the Norwegians were slaughtered on each side of the river Ruail, which runs through the middle of the Glen; and their bodies being thrown into the river gave the colour of blood to it. Hence the parish got the name of Glendaruel, and the river the name of Ruel, which signifies 'The Glen-of-red-blood.'"

With two exceptions, the above description is still exactly the tradition in the locality. These exceptions are the names *Meckan* and *Norwegians.* The Norwegians are not known by that name to the natives of Cowal. The only name by which the northern invaders are known, whether Danes or Norwegians, is by that of Lochannaich, which means either; and as to Magnus, king of Norway, on whose name really hangs this date, he is well known in history, having subdued the Orkney Islands about the end of the eleventh century.—(Chal. Cal., Vol. I., p. 342).—Also, the Hebrides, and made some plundering expeditions to Ireland—(Ib., Vol. I., pp. 615–616)—but that he invaded the mainland of Argyleshire is without any foundation, not even Kintyre, which latter it is alleged he had secured by treaty from Malcolm Canmore in the following manner:—That all the islands he could sail round about were to be his own, and in order to include the peninsula of Kintyre with the rest of the islands, he caused his galley to be dragged across the isthmus at Tarbert, while he sat at the helm. Chalmers says, regarding this affair: "The tale is altogether unworthy of any writer who regards fact more than fiction."—Cal., Vol. I., p. 605, f.n.)

As to Meckan, the son of Magnus, who is thus immortalised in the history of Cowal, his name never appears in any document prior to Mr. MacKinnon's statistics. It appears to be a local topographical blunder. The name of the place is spoken of under two forms in the Gaelic language, namely, *Uamh-bhar-a-mheacan*, and *Rudh-bhar-a-mheacan*. *Bar-a-mheacan* is made up of two Gaelic words—*bar*, the top a conical hill or any eminence; and *meacan*, the root of a tree or that of an esculent plant. On the face of this conical hill there is a rude stone cist. When the name is associated with this grave it takes the form of *uaigh-bhar-a-mheacan*, or the grave on the conical hill abounding with roots. This is literally the case at the present day. Around the hill or promontory the roots of the trees are beautifully interlaced over the surface of the rocks. Such topographical errors are not rare in this locality: Lochruel, which derives its name from the famous battle in question is printed on Government charts as Lochridden—a silly translation which is neither Gaelic nor English. Again, we have Ellan Greg, Allan Greg, and Ealan Gheirig, a place famous in history, being the rendezvous of Argyle when he invaded Scotland in 1685.

The real name of the island is Eilean Dearg, or Red Island, in contradistinction to the Black Island of Caladh, on the opposite side of the loch. But the name of old, being associated with its castle, was Caisteal-an-Eilean-Dheirg, or The Castle of the Red Island.* Eilean-Dheirg was stupidly converted into Ellan Greg. I have no doubt the name Meckan was produced in the same way, hence the mistake of founding the date of the battle on his name.

SUBSTITUTION OF PERSONS FOR PLACES.

The third and grand mistake, and that in which antiquarians have generally erred, is in their supposing that the battle fields in Cowal derive their names from some of the leaders of this invasion.

I shall here again refer to the order of battle. The Annals of Ulster, in B.M., says: "The Gentiles divided themselves into four battles, or battalions, viz., one by Godfrey O'Ivar, another by two Earls, the third by the young lords, and the fourth by Rannall MacBiolach, who lay in ambuscade, that the Scots did not see; but the Scots overthrew the three battalions, they saw that they had a great slaughter of them round Otter and Gragava." Some antiquarians have supposed that the above nameless earls must have been called Otter and Gragava, consequently they have called them so, rendering this link of history a perfect enigma.

Dr. Skene, in what he calls a collated copy of the Annals of Ulster, has the names of Otter and Gragabai introduced into the text. (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.) His version begins thus: "The Galls of Lochdacaech expelled from Erin, namely, Ranald, king of Dubhgalls, and the two earls, Otter and Gragabai, &c." This explanation has evidently been foisted into the text, and that by a late scribe, who did not understand the subject, as I shall briefly show.

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* Appendix B.

Firstly. The Galls were not expelled from Erin, but deliberately prepared to invade Scotland, and this on a large scale. Skene's version further on shows this. It says: "That the men of Alban, with the assistance of the northern Saxons, had time to make a corresponding preparation to resist them."

Secondly. Reginald by nationality was a Fingal or Dane, and not a Dubhgall or Norwegian; and since the accession of his dynasty to pre-eminence in 853, the Norwegians, though united with were subject to the Danes till 948.

Thirdly. It may be inquired if each of the four divisions was severally led as alleged by Reginald, Godfrey, Otter, and Gragabai. What became of the division commanded by the young lords or chieftains. The Annals of Ulster assert that these chieftains commanded the third division. The order was, "the Gentiles divided themselves into four battles:

One by Godfrey O'Ivar.
Another by the two Earls.
The third by the young lords.
The fourth by Rannal MacBiolach."

Fourthly. Skene, in his version, gives the paragraph in Irish Gaelic, which reads thus: "*Roinis rc ferib Alban fors na tri catha ad concadar corolsat ar n-dimar do na Gentib im Ottir acus im Gragabai,*" which he translates:—The three battalions which they saw were routed by the men of Alban, and there was a great slaughter of the Gentiles round Otter and Gragabai. I have submitted this passage to a competent Irish scholar, who has no doubt whatever that "*im Ottir acus im Gragabai*" were intended for places and not persons. Admitting this we have a simple key that opens the door to solve this tangled problem.

I shall immediately endeavour to show that the Otter and Gragava referred to are none else than the districts of Otter on

Lochfyneside and the farm of Garvie or Garbh-amhain in Glendaruel, the places where the men of Alban encountered the Danes. Otter, variously spelled Oitir, Ottir, and Ottar, is a name derived from its peculiar sandbank, whereas Garvie or Garbh-amhain is descriptive of its rocky river, and is spelled in old Annals, Gragava, Cracava, Gragabai, Gragaban, &c., all of which are imitations of the sound.

Section III.

I shall now submit local evidence—both the traditions and landmarks in the district of Cowal—bearing on these memorable battles, which corroborates the evidence of the Irish Annals.

The Danish invaders, on leaving Lochdacaech, formed their fleet into four divisions; Godfrey, the brother of Reginald, led the van, followed respectively by the divisions of the jarls and chieftains, while Reginald himself brought up the rear or reserve, and conducted the expedition to the fatal shore of Lochfyne in Cowal.—(Chalmers' Cal., Vol. I., p. 386, f.n.)

It appears that Constantine was well aware where the invaders intended to land, for the Annals of Ulster says: "The men of Alban, with the assistance of the northern Saxons prepared before them." The most direct way for Constantine and his allies to march against the foe was through Menteith and Lennox to the upper parts of Glendaruel. This line of march had its difficulties, but it had its safeguards also. Constantine was well aware of the superiority of the Danish fleet over his own (if he had any), and it was his wisdom to avoid it, and he knew also, if he and his allies were defeated, they could fall back on their natural defiles, where the enemy could not follow them with impunity. Constantine appears to have fixed his head-quarters at Garvie, and pushed the main body of his army to meet the foe at his landing place at Otter.

The name of the landing place is purely a Gaelic term. In the Gaelic dictionary it is defined—Oitir, a bank, a ridge of the sea, a shoal or shallow, a low promontory jutting out into the sea.

Ewan MacLauchlan of Aberdeen, in his beautiful translation of Homer's Illiad, applies the term in the same sense.

"Dh'eirich Nestor mannta mìn,
Righ Philos nan *oitir bàn.*"

Which is rendered in English versions,

Nestor of the *sandy realms*,
And also of the *sandy shores.*

The great sandbank or oitir in Cowal, juts out about a mile into the sea, rather more than half way across Lochfyne, and is dry at half-tide. What is dry of it is not much broader than an ordinary country road. Its formation is so peculiar that the district takes its name from it—an Oitir.

The Danish invaders could not have chosen a more suitable place to land their hosts, as this long ridge forms an excellent breakwater on which their whole fleet could run, bow on, on the lee side, where they could easily disembark.

The first three divisions of the invading army landed at Otter, but it appears that Reginald, though he conducted them to the fatal shore of Lochfyne in Cowal, did not land his division there. Seeing the hostile army of the Scots making their appearance on the heights of Otter, he made a diversion by sailing backwards round Ardlamont Point and into Lochruel. Having reached there he moored his galleys at the head of the loch, landed his army and marched it to the narrow neck of Glendaruel south of Bealach-an-Droighin bridge, known to this day as Srath-nan-lochannach, or the valley or field of the Danes. The position chosen agrees exactly with what the

Annals of Ulster says: "A battalion under Rannall in ambuscade which, however, the men of Alban did not see." From this place of concealment he could pounce on either the flank or the rear of the Scots army.

The other three battalions, on landing at Otter, parted in two divisions and aimed at crossing the hill at each end of the district. The division at its upper part made its way to Glendaruel—then called Gleann-du-uisg—evidently with the intention of cutting off King Constantine and his reserve from the main body of the allied army; but in this they were disappointed, being bravely encountered by Constantine and his retainers. Ecc. Statistics says: "The Lochannaich were slaughtered on each side of the river, which runs through the middle of the glen, and their bodies being thrown into the river, gave the colour of blood to it; hence the parish got the name of Glendaruel (or, according to older documents, Glenrowel), and the river and loch the qualifying adjective Ruel, or Ruadhfhuil—red blood."

On the battlefield at Garvie, were erected two cairns, a large and a small one, regarding which the Ecc. Stat. of the parish says: "There are two tumuli supposed to have been raised by the Norwegians, but have not yet been opened (1790-91), unfortunately both are now wholly removed and all that can indicate where they were, is their sites marked on the recent survey maps." The little cairn was a small mound of earth. I was informed by the late Mrs. Cameron, Ardaphubil, daughter of Mr. Archibald Currie, by whom this mound was removed about ninety-five years ago, that two stone coffins were found on the top of it. The cairnmore or large cairn when entire was an immense heap of water-worn stones, apparently taken from Garbh Amhain, which passed its base. It covered the top of a gravelly knoll, in the middle of the field, under the present house of Garvie, and was of a circular form, surrounded by an earthen sunk fence. The first known encroachment on this sacred pile was made by Mr. Currie, who took a great quantity of stones out of it to build a stone dyke, fully half a mile long and five feet high, and which remains there yet. Mr. Walter Black, Mr. Currie's successor, made a breach in the south-west side for building stones. His servants, Donald Black and Stephen Anderson, found in its margin a stone coffin about two feet long, and covered with a large flag, containing two large human thigh bones. Mr. Cunningham, of Craigends, who succeeded Mr. Black, also removed a great quantity of stones to build dykes and the present farm steading at Garvie.. The next removal of stones was for banking the river under Kilbridemore. Donald Black, and my father James Brown, having contracted to quarry stones for the embankment were allowed to take what they required out of Cairnmore, as the most convenient place. On making a breach on the west side they found it a heap of clean water-worn stones ready to be lifted. The most curious thing they met with was a side stone wall about three or four feet high, facing northward, and running along the bottom of the cairn from the west to the east through centre. North of the wall several stone coffins were afterwards found, containing stone jars, and in others greasy mould or ashes. The final clearance of the cairn was made by Mr. Gordon, factor, Glendaruel, after he went to reside at Garvie.

Being often about the cairn during my school days, and afterwards being informed of the discoveries made in it from time to time, I was curious to know about its size, contents, and final clearance, and therefore I made enquiry at Mr. Gordon, who kindly gave me a note with the following information :—

AUCHANELLET, 13th May, 1863.

DEAR SIR,

The area covered by cairnmore was about 1,398 yards. I took 200 carts of stones out of it for brow-banking the river at Kilbridemore before I went to reside at Garvie.

When I commenced to clear it entirely away there was still a great quantity of stones in it, but as they were not all taken away at once I did not keep a note of the number of carts. The average depth of gravelly clay taken off the knoll under the cairn was about five feet, and the stones and gravel were chiefly taken to drain and fill up the old course of the river, which ran diagonally into one of the parks south-west of it.

On the removal of the cairn several stone coffins were found on the north-east of it. In one I found a stone jar containing ashes. The jar was unfortunately broken. The other coffins were empty; perhaps their contents might have been taken away by those who preceded me in the removal of stones, as several of the coffins were laid bare. I expected to find a coffin in the centre of the cairn, but found none.

I spent a part of three winters in its removal.

I am, Dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
ALEXANDER GORDON.

This cairn, when entire, must have been an immense pile, and its erection was in keeping with the occasion. It is surmised that the cairnmore had been erected by the Scots after the battle, and that the wall built through the centre of it would be to separate their remains from those of the Lochannaich. This is apparent, for all the coffins were on the north-east or face to the wall, none being found at the back of it except the stone coffin already referred to as found in the margin, containing bones, and which was of a much later date. It also appears that it was only the chieftains who fell in battle who were interred in the stone coffins. If the cairn had been erected over a chief, his grave would naturally have been placed in the centre of it, and Mr. Gordon says he expected to find a coffin there, but found none. This is in keeping with the Annals of Ulster, which says: "Neither their king nor any murmor fell."

But to return, the other division of the Danish army, which aimed to cross the hill at the southern end of the district above Kilfinnan, met the main body of the allied army near the top of the hill at a place called Gleann-a-chatha. In the "*Origines Parochialis Scotiæ,*" of 1534 and 1541, it is respectively spelled

Glenchow and Glencaw. A large field or slope in this glen is called Achaghlinn-a-chatha, literally the Field-of-the-glen-of-battle. It appears it was here the brunt of the battle took place. Running parallel to the field of battle, on the south side, is a deep ravine, the course of a mountain stream. At a narrow neck of it a Dane, when hotly pursued, is said to have leapt across, which place is yet called Leum-an-Lochannaich, or the Dane's leap. When the Danes were routed the battle seems to have become desultory over the whole district, as the numerous cairns, &c., indicate. The Rev. Alexander M'Farlane, in the Ecc. Stat. of the parish of Kilfinnan, 1794, says: "The most remarkable antiquities in this parish are cairns, duns, and boradhs. The cairns are large piles of stones heaped together, where battles are supposed to have been fought, and where heroes fell and were buried." The duns and the boradhs were also heaps of stones artfully put together. In modern times these cairns, duns, and boradhs, and also mounds of earth, where many stone coffins and human remains were found, are looked upon with awe as the abode of ghosts. What native of Otter is not familiar with the haunted

Bar-ile, Bar-oile, Bar-lagain,
Dun-acha-le-ghadain,
Agus Clabain Bhar-longairt.

There are also traditional stories in the district of battles and single combats having taken place. One of them is told of a Manx hero, who, when his followers were routed, defended himself against a rock, on which it is said he left the print of his back. The rock is still called Sgeir-a-mhanannaich. It might be asked what were Manxmen doing in Otter? But it is a curious coincidence that the Isle of Man was a place of resort, if not actually possessed, by this Danish dynasty at this particular time. Four years previous to this invasion, we find Reginald fighting a naval battle there with another of the same race. "*Anno* 914—*acris pugna navalis prope Manniam Insulam inter Baredum et Reginaldum O' Hivar Danos commissum est in qua Reginaldus Barredo et suis occisis victoriam reportavit.*" —(Celto-Normanica, p. 77.) It is possible the fleet by which Reginald invaded Cowal might have partly been recruited at the Isle of Man.

While a simultaneous battle was going on at Otter and Garvie, Reginald, who lay in ambush at Srath-nan-Lochannach, made an attack on the men of Alban from behind and slew many of them, but neither their king nor any murmor fell. (Annals of Ulster.)

His position could not be seen either at Otter or at Garvie, and from his place of concealment he could fall on the flank and rear of the Albanaich.

His attack from behind would most likely be made upon Constantine's reserve, which would pursue the fugitives over the hills of Glendaruel to their ships. But no sooner did Constantine discover Reginald's ambuscade than he concentrated his army against him and drove him back to his encampment at Srath-nan-Lochannach. There Reginald made a determined stand and a severe struggle took place. The place is still called Caigean-na-Cruadail or the conflict of valour. And close beside the Caigean there is a ford on the river called Ath-nan-Claigean or the ford of skulls. The conflict at Srath-nan-Lochannach though severe was of but little moment compared with the great battle at Garvie. At Srath-nan-Lochannach, it is said the Danes kept sentry on a piece of level ground (now planted) on the hillside west of the battlefield, and there are shown two places on the east of the field where their dead were buried. But on neither of these spots are there any standing stones, cists, or cairns. Reginald soon found out that his single battalion could not cope with Constantine's elated army, therefore he beat a hasty retreat to his galleys. Constantine pursued him to

Lochruel head, where he rested his army at Creag-na-hanaileach or rock of resting.

The Pictish Chronicle might well say: "This battle was fought between Constantine and Regnall, and the Scots were victorious." Reginald then collected his shattered army and returned to Ireland, where it appears the results of the expedition were anything but satisfactory to his followers.

It is recorded in the Annals of Ulster that he was slain two or three years afterwards. "920 or 921 Reginald O'Ivar, king of Dubhgalls and Fiongalls, killed." (Celto-Normanica.)

It is both a pride and satisfaction to the natives of Cowal that the resistance which the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton could not make the Danes found among the hills and glens of Cowal. So scared were they with the disaster they met with that this Danish dynasty, though for many years afterwards doing much mischief in Ireland, did not venture to invade the West of Scotland on a large scale ever after this.

PART THIRD.

THE OLD FAMILIES OF ARGYLE.

PART THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE OLD FAMILIES OF ARGYLE.

DR. SKENE'S SPECULATIONS EXAMINED.

THE origin of the Highland clans has been ascribed to Irish, Scandinavian, Danish, and Pictish extraction. It is now generally conceded that they have chiefly sprung from the first or the last of these nations.

Until a late date the Highland clans themselves, more especially those of Argyleshire, claimed to have been of Irish descent, some tracing their origin to Kenneth MacAlpin, the conqueror of the Picts, some to Ferchar fada, the restorer of the prestige of the house of Loarn, others, pushing their descent to more remote ages, claim kindred with Colla Uais and Conn-nan-ceud-cath, Irish heroes of antiquity.

Between forty and fifty years ago a new school arose, claiming all the Highland clans to have been of Pictish origin. Chief among these were Donald Gregory, W. F. Skene, and James Browne. Gregory published his "History of the Western Highlands and Isles" in 1836; Skene the "History of the Highlanders" in 1837; and Browne "The History of the Highlands and Highland Clans" in 1838. Gregory does not devote much space to the inquiry as to the origin of the Highland clans. He seems to have been guided in this by the opinion of

Skene. In a note appended to the introduction, he says: "I must here acknowledge the valuable assistance I have received from my colleague and friend, Wm. F. Skene, Esq., not only in the researches which were rendered necessary by my undertaking the present work, but in all the historical enquiries which I have had occasion to make for several years." (Pp. 21-22.)

Mr. Browne, on the other hand, ridicules some of Skene's theories about the descent of the Highlanders. He says: "The theory proposed by Mr. Skene falls far short of that demonstration to which he pretends. He contends that the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as has been generally supposed, but were descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlands in 843." After commenting on this theory he remarks: "If the Highlanders are really the same people with those who inhabited the northern mountains in the ninth and tenth centuries, the question still remains, who were those early inhabitants, and whence did they originally come? Mr. Skene indeed informs us that they were not Scots, but part of the Caledonians, the most *ancient stock* of the country. This is only shifting the place of the difficulty without solving it. It is like telling us that the earth is supported on the back of a huge elephant, and that the elephant stands on an enormous tortoise. The main question is, what supports the tortoise?" (Browne's Hist. Highland Clans, Vol. IV. p. 412.)

JOHN ELDER'S LETTER.

The only plausible evidence adduced by Mr. Skene is a letter dated 1542, being a proposal or plot for uniting Scotland with England, addressed to King Henry VIII. by John Elder, clerke, a Reddshanke, who was a native of Caithness, and had "studied in Sanctandrois, Aberdene, and Glasgow, for the space of XIIth yeares." The part of Elder's letter on which Skene founds his theory is as follows: "And fforsomoche and please your Grace, that I have written the names of all the yrische lordes of Scotland, commonly callit the reddshankes, and by historiographouris, Pictis; joyned also to ther contreth and dwellinge places, I will be your maiesties pardon, writ somethinge of theame heir whois names bicause they be yrische and soundis not well to be interprete in Englis, I will declair theam to your Grace in Latyne.

"Therefore, if it please your Excellent Maiestie, Scotland, a part of your Highnes Empyre of England, before the incumminge of Albanactus, Brutus' second sonne, was inhabitede as we reide in auncient Yrische stories with gyauntes and wylde people without ordour, ciuilitie, or maneres, and spake none other language but Yyrische, and was then called Eyryn Veagg, that is to say, little Irland; and the people were called Eyrynghe, that is to say, Irlande men. But after the incummyne of Albanactus he reducymge theame to ordour and ciuilitie, they changed the forsaid Eyryne Veagg and called it Albon, and their owne names also, and called theame Albonyghe, which two Yrische wordes, Albon, that is to say Scotland, and Albonyche, Scottish men, which be drywyse from Albanactus, our first gouernour and Kynge. Which driuiacion (and like your Highnes) the papestical curside spiritualite of Scotland will not heir in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that euer such a Kynge named Albanactus reagnede ther. The which diriuacion, all the Yyrische men of Scotland (excepte the erll of Argyll which is ravishide onelye from the opinioun of the rest, be the cardinall and his busschops becaus he is norished and brought vp in ther bosomes and lyes vnder ther wynges). The which diriuacion all the Yrische men of Scotland which be the *auncient stoke, can* *not, nor will not denye.* But our said busschops (and pleas your Grace) drywith Scotland and theame selfes, from a certane lady, named Scota, which (as they alledge) come out of Egipte, a maraculous hot contreth, to recreatt her self emonges theame in the cold ayre of Scotland, *which they can not afferme be no probable auncient author.*"—(Iona Club Transactions, Vol. I. Part I. Edin. 1834.)

Mr. Browne says: "From these extracts it seems evident that at the time to which they refer, there prevailed in Scotland two conflicting traditions respecting the origin of the redshankes or Highlanders; the one supported by 'all the Yrische men of Scotland belonging to the *auncient stoke,*' and the other maintained by 'the papistical curside spiritualitie' of that country, and from the great indignation with which the worthy 'clerke' expresses himself against the "busschops," it may further be inferred that the latter tradition "which they cannot afferme by no probable auncient author," was then fast gaining ground on what he conceived to be the more orthodox beliefs as to the origin of the Highlanders. To this extent the deduction of Mr. Skene seems to be supported by the curious document on which he founds. But when he says there must have existed amongst the purer Highlanders a still older tradition, by which their origin was derived from the Picts, we think he exceeds the limits of just inference prescribed by his premises.

There can be little doubt that the Highlanders were that people generally known by the name of Reddshankes, a term which historiographers converted into Picts, as Elder says in his letter to Henry; but they are also called "the Yrische men of Scotland," a description which seems scarcely reconcilable with the supposition that the Reddshankes were identical with the people properly denominated "Picts," although historiographers writing in Latin translate the one term into the other—the terms Reddshankes and Yrische are employed as synonymous to not two different branches of the same race, but one and the same people, denominated by Elder "the Yrische men of Scotland."

Mr. Skene, however, contends that the authority of John Elder not only proves the tradition of the descent of the Highlanders from the Picts to have existed in the Highlands before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, but even enables us to ascertain the origin of the latter system, and to assign the cause why it ultimately obtained universal assent. It appears from Elder's letter to Henry that the bishops and clergy of Scotland derived the descent of the Highlanders from the Scots of Dalriada; and also that the older Highland families, those of "the auncient stoke," held a different tradition. But the object of the letter was to assure the king of England of support in the Highlands in his plans of obtaining influence in Scotland, and the Highland chiefs who held this older tradition are just those whom he afterwards names to King Henry as in the English interest. "Now, it is very remarkable," continues Mr. Skene, "that the first trace of the Dalriadic system which we can discover is in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320 by the party who asserted the independence of Scotland. To this party the clergy of Scotland unquestionably belonged, while it is *equally clear* that the Highland chiefs, with very few exceptions, belonged to the English party, and upon comparing the traditionary history upon which Edward I. founded his claim, and which, of course, his party in Scotland must have believed, we actually find it to be a part of the same tradition which John Elder asserts to have been held by the other Highland families, and which included a belief of their descent from the Picts. The cause of the Scottish story is *now clear*, for the question of the independence of Scotland having been most improperly placed by the two parties on their respective traditions, it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which it asserted, that the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands, as well as in the West of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the *absolute belief* in the descent of the Highlanders as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland from the Scots of Dalriada."—(History of Highlanders, Vol. II., pp. 20–21.)

Mr Browne pertly retorts: "This is no doubt ingenious and plausible enough; but still it leaves several points of importance unexplained, or, in other words, proceeds upon an assumption which is not established. For, supposing it were true, as Mr. Skene contends, that the old Highland families entertained a belief of their descent from the Picts, it is not easy to see how such a genealogical notion should have led them to join the English party in an attempt to subvert the independence of their country, nor is it less difficult to understand why the kings and clergy of Scotland should have embraced the national cause because they believed themselves descended from the Scots of Dalriada. Where is the evidence of any community of origin, or any identity of feelings and interest between the English Saxons and the descendants of the northern Picts in the Highlands of Scotland? Where is the proof that the old Highland families were prepared to support the English monarchs in their plans of obtaining influence in Scotland? Solely because they wished to indicate this supposed descent, would "the older traditions" have received any confirmation from the subjugation of Scotland? Is it by conquest that the origin and descent of nations are established? What Mr. Skene considers as clear to demonstration appears, when closely examined, to be worse than doubtful. It is scarce within the reach of credibility that two conflicting traditions as to origin and descent should have brought into question the independence of Scotland; that the old Highlanders should have joined the English party mainly because they claimed to be the descendants of the northern Picts; or that the kings and clergy of Scotland should have declared against that party because they believed themselves to have sprung from the Scots of Dalriada! Such a doctrine is too absurd to be seriously maintained."—(Browne's History of the Highland Clans, Vol. IV., pp. 412–416.)

Yet, it is singular, after this scathing exposure, that Browne should afterwards implicitly follow Skene in his baseless theories about their future history, namely:—

Firstly. He adopts his theory of the magnates of Argyle being descended from a people he calls Gall-gael—a hybrid Scoto-Norwegian pirate race.

Secondly. He adopts his views of the conquest of Argyle in the year 1221, by King Alexander II., by dispossessing the natives and dividing their lands among his followers. He also follows him in his origin and subdivision of the Highland Clans.

DR. SKENE'S SYSTEM OF THE DESCENT OF THE CLANS.

Skene's system of the descent of the Highland Clans he divides into six stages. *First:* The Dicaledones, Cruithne, or Picts. *Second:* Their names according to Ptolemy. *Third:* The Maormors or Earls. *Fourth:* The names of the great Clans. *Fifth:* The names of the small Clans; *and Lastly:* The names of their Chiefs.

SKENE'S TABLE OF THE DESCENT OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

	Name of the Tribe according to Ptolemy.	Name of the Maormorship or Earldom.	Name of the Great Clans.	Name of the Small Clans.	Name of the Chief.
Caledones, Cruithne, or Northern Picts.	Kaledonioi.	The Gallgael.	Siol Cuin.	Clan Rory.	Macrory.
				Clan Donald.	Macdonnell.
				Clan Dugall.	Macdugald.
			Siol Gillivray.	Clan Neill.	Macneill.
				Clan Lachlan.	Maclachlan.
				Clan Ewen.	Macewen.
			Siol Eachern.	Clan Dugall, Craignish.	Campbell of Craignish.
				Clan Lamond.	Lawmond.
			Clan Donnachie.	Clan Donnachie.	Robertson.
			Clan Pharlane.	Clan Pharlane.	Macfarlane.
	Kanteai.	Moray.	Clan Chattan.	Clan Chattan.	Macpherson.
			Clan Cameron.	Clan Cameron.	Cameron.
			Clan Nachtan.	Clan Nachtan.	Macnachtan.
			Clan Gilleoin.	Clan Gilleoin.	Maclean.
			Siol O'Cain.	Clan Roich.	Munro.
				Clan Gillemhaol.	Macmillan.
	Karnones.	Ross.	Clan Anrias.	Clan Anrias.	Ross.
			Clan Kenneth.	Clan Kenneth.	Mackenzie.
			Clan Mathan.	Clan Mathan.	Matheson.
			Siol Alpine.	Clan Gregor.	Macgregor.
				Clan Grant.	Grant.
				Clan Fingon.	Mackinnon.
				Clan Anaba.	Macnab.
				Clan Duffie.	Macphie.
				Clan Quarrie.	Macquarrie.
				Clan Aulay.	Macaulay.
	Kreones.	Garmoran.	Clan Leod.	Clan Leod.	Macleod.
			Clan Campbell.	Clan Campbell.	Campbell.
	Kournaovioi.	Caithness.	Clan Morgan.	Clan Morgan.	Mackay.
	Kairinoi.	Ness.	Clan Nicol.	Clan Nicol.	Macnicol.

"History of the Highlanders," Vol. II., page 305.

THE CRUITHNE OR NORTHERN PICTS.

To attempt any analysis of this remote period of their history would be a waste of time. It is, in short, said that the Picts came originally from Scythia by way of Germany, in the time of Vespasian, conquered Alban and subdued the Irish found there. Having come from the East without wives they were obliged to obtain them from Ireland, and that on condition that their children should speak Irish, and that succession should be in the female line. (Chron. of Scots and Picts.)

NAMES OF THE HIGHLAND TRIBES ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.

I shall confine my remarks at this stage to an extract from the work of the late Cosmo Innes, "Scotland in the Middle Ages." He says: "We may possibly recognise the sounds of a few rivers and friths in Ptolemy, but placed all confusedly; while his names of the tribes and their cities give no information at all. His nomenclature joins to nothing before or after. Ptolemy no doubt built on a foundation of truth, and may have known as much of our island as a London map maker does of the interior of Japan or Patagonia. Richard of Cirencester, his continuator, if not a pure modern invention, cannot be quoted as an authority." (Pref. to C. 11-12: Edin., 1860.)

THE MAORMORS OR EARLS.

The maormors placed against Ptolemy's tribes are rather fanciful. That of the Gallgael is evidently an imaginary or mistaken name, unknown to history till coined by Dr. Skene.

Without further remarks at present about the remaining three stages of his plan (to some of which I will yet refer), I proceed to consider the evidence of his theory about the Gallgaels, on which he builds the history of the principal families of Argyle.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME GALLGAEL OR GALLGAIDHEL.

Of the fifty Chronicles, &c., bearing on the History of Scotland, edited by Dr. Skene and published by the Government in 1867, not one makes mention of these hybrid Scoto-Norsemen termed by Skene the Gallgael. The only document on which this title has been founded is a fragment of Irish Annals appended to the said Chronicles, described as

"*Fragments of Irish Annals transcribed by MacFirbis from the Book of Gillananoemh MacEgan.*"

Regarding these documents, Dr. Skene, in his preface to the Chronicles, says: "No. III., or Extracts bearing on the early history of Scotland, transcribed from fragments of Irish Annals by MacFirbis (before 1670), printed by the Irish Archæological Society from a manuscript in the Burgundian Library at Brussels.—The date of these annals *cannot be ascertained*, but some of the events recorded in them *are probably* taken from older documents." (Pref. p. lxxiv.)

The reference to the Gall-gaidhel is translated by Skene from the above document as follows: "852. A battle given by Aedh, king of Aileach, of North Ulster, the most valiant king in his time, to the fleet of the Gall-goidheal. They were Scots and foster children of the Northmen. They were defeated and slain by Aedh, and many of their heads carried by Niall with him, and the Irish were justified in committing this havoc, for they were wont to act like Lochlins."

"858, Maelsechlan, king of the Irish, proceeded to Munster, plundered and obtained hostages. Though Maelsechlan had not come on an expedition to take the kingdom of Munster to himself, he ought to have come to kill all the Gallghoidhealaibh who were killed there, for they were a people who renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen, for they had the custom of Northmen and had been fostered by them, and though the original Northmen were bad to churches, those were, by far, worse in whatever part of Ireland they used to be." (Chronicles of Picts and Scots, pp. 403-404.) The purport of the latter paragraph is not very clear, but taking it in connection with a quotation from the Annals of Ulster, some light may be thrown upon it. "856, *Coeadh mor ettir Gennti acus Maelsechnaill con Gall-gaoidheal leis.*" "Great war between the Gentiles and Maelsechnail with the Gall-goidheal along with them."

Dr. Skene, in the case of the Fragments, translates the Gall-gaidheal—Hybrid Scoto-Norsement; and in that of the Gall-goidheal of the Annals of Ulster—Gallowegians.

The Fragments are modern Irish, evidently copied from tradition. The transcriber mistook names and imputed deeds to people who never existed., He has mistaken the name Gall-gaidheal for Gall-geal, names which have an euphonious resemblance but materially differ in their meaning. For Gall-gaidheal means the Foreign Highlanders, and Gall-geal the Fair Foreigners.

The Norwegians, who for about fifty years (798-847) infested the Hebrides and Ireland, were designated by the Irish Annals either as Galls or Gennti—Foreigners or Gentiles. At the end of the latter period a fleet of Danish pirates invaded Ireland and for six years fought furiously with those foreigners who were there before them, and, according to the Four Masters, disturbed all Erin.

In the last year of the struggle (852) Aulaiv, king of Lochlin, with his brothers, Ivar and Sitric, who were called Easterlings or Danes, came in a great fleet, landed in Ireland, and decided the contest (Ware's Antiq., p. 59), and all the foreigners submitted to them and they had tribute from the Irish. (Annals of Ulster.)

On the arrival of the Danes the Irish Annalists made a distinction between them and the Norwegians. The latter they termed Dubhgalls, and the Danes Fingalls, which signified Black Foreigners and White Foreigners. "Fin" and "Geal" are synonymous terms in Irish, which mean fair or white. In support of this idea, it was the same year (852), that Aedh, king of Aileach, is said to have fought the great battle with the Gall-gaidhel, that the Fingalls or Gall-geal got the mastery over all Ireland. Four years later we find Maelsechnaill, king of Ireland, fighting against the Gennti or Norwegians, and along with him were the Gall-geal or Fingalls.

It was but natural that the Irish would be taking sides with both parties. In the one case we find Aedh fighting against the Gall-geal, and in the other case Maelsechnaill with them. Dr. Skene applies the term Gall-gael indiscriminately to his hybrid pirates and the people of Galloway. It is possible that the Gall-geals got a firm footing in Galloway, and conferred their name on it, for they fought fiercely in its neighbourhood and at the Isle of Man.

But Dr. Skene's apparent object in introducing or inventing the name Gall-gael about this period was to confirm his theories of the disappearance of the Scots from Dalriada in 741 (already considered). He says there was still a remnant of the Scots in Galloway, from whence Kenneth MacAlpin came in 843, and seized the kingdom of the Picts. His own words are: "We gather from this tale, Kenneth emerged from Galloway, where the last remnant of the Scots disappeared from history nearly a century before; and *if* the appearance of the Norwegians on the scene had led the people of Galloway, as well as the Scots from other quarters, to adopt the same piratical life under the name Gall-gaedhel, we can readily understand Kenneth taking advantage of the crushing blow inflicted on the Picts at Fortren by the Danes, and prosecuting his father's claim to the throne of the Picts."—(Celt. Scot., Vol. I., p. 319.)

INFERENCES.

First. When did the Scots and Norsemen become a hybrid pirate race? Dr. Skene thinks it was when Kenneth emerged from Galloway, but his supposition, as we see above, is hanging on an "if."

Second. Why were the deeds of the Gall-gael attributed to the Scots of Argyle? The fragments on which Dr. Skene bases his theory speaks of them only as infesting Ireland.

Third. The only attempt the Gall-gael made on the mainland of Argyle was their invasion of Cowal in the tenth century, where they suffered a signal defeat.

Fourth. What Dr. Skene translates Scots, the Fragments have *Scuit*, which means Wanderers. Father Innes says: "The term Scot the Irish writers never apply to the Scots of Albuin."

Fifth. We see here Dr. Skene commences with an "if," on which he constructs the idea of the Gall-gael or Scoto-Norsemen —a hybrid pirate race—people who had no foundation in fact.

THE CONQUEST OF ARGYLE IN 1220–21 BY KING ALEXANDER II.

By the theory of the Scoto-Norsemen-hybrid-pirate-race, all the claims of the families of Argyle to antiquity are dissipated, leaving the district and its inhabitants in a state of chaos, to be completely overturned through the conquest or subjugation of Argyle by Alexander II. in 1221, by which any of the indigenous race remaining were supplanted by others drafted there from the North Highlands.

The conquest of Argyle in 1220–21 rests entirely on John of Fordon's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation, chap. xl., which Dr. Skene translates thus: "Alexander II., in 1220, having raised an army out of Lothian and Galloway, and other outlying provinces, the king sailed for Argyle, but a storm arose, and being obliged to put back, he brought up at Glasgow in safety, though not without danger. The following year, 1221, after Whitsunday, he led back the army into Argyle, for he was displeased with the natives for many reasons. The men of Argyle were frightened: some gave hostages and a great deal of money, and were taken back in peace; while others, who had more deeply offended against the king's will, forsook their estates and possessions and fled, but our lord, the king, bestowed both their lands and the goods of those men on his followers at will; and thus returned in peace with his men."—(P. 284. Edin. 1872.)

About a century later—1420—Andrew Winton wrote his "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," in which he propagates the fable of Fordon, indicating that Alexander II.'s expedition to Argyle continued from May till Christmas. He says :—

The Kyng that yhere Argyle wan,
That rebell wes till hym befor than ;
For wyth his ost thare in was he,
And athe tuk off thare fewte,
Wyth thare serwys and thare homage,
That off hym wald hald thare herytage,
But the etchetys of the lave,
To the lordys of that land he gave.
Oure the mownth theyne passyd he sene,
And held hys Yhule in Abbyrdene.
—(Book VII., chap. IX.)

In proceeding to show the baseless fabric Dr. Skene has built on this fable, I shall adduce a few reasons to show its doubtful character. *First.* Fordon's foundation. *Second.* Skene's fabric.

FORDON'S FOUNDATION.

First. Our first and last Scotch historians—Buchanan and Burton—ignore it.

Second. Palgrave says: "The expedition of Alexander II. to the Isles in 1221 is not in existing histories, and it may be said that his age (23) at the time alleged was not such as to warrant its tenour." (Sir F. Palgrave's Illust. Hist. Scot. Intro. 28–9. 1837.)

Third. Fordon himself says: "Alexander led his army back from Glasgow after Whitsunday, 1221." Lord Hailes says he was married to Joan, princess of England, in June, 1221. He could not be in both places at the same time, seeing that the expedition extended from May till December.

Fourth. Fordon evidently confounds this expedition with that of 1249, when Alexander died at Kerrera. It appears there were two expeditions in the latter years also. (See Hailes' Annals, foot note.)

SKENE'S FABRICS.

The changes effected by the conquest of Argyle in 1221 are as follow. He says: "Ferchard MacAntagart, Earl of Ross, appears to have rendered great assistance to Alexander II. in his conquest of Argyle in 1221, and on that occasion obtained from that monarch a grant of North Argyle, afterwards termed West Ross. (Hist. of Highlanders, Vol. II.

The MacGregors proceeded from Hugh of Glenorchy, a district which formed a part of the territories in Argyle, which were forfeited by Alexander II., and given to the principal chiefs in his army. As the Earl of Ross in particular *joined him* with a *considerable force* and obtained no inconsiderable territory in consequence, it is *probable* that Glenorchy was given to the chiefs of the Macgregors, a vassal of the Earl of Ross.—(Ibid., Vol. II., pp. 244–5.)

The MacNaughtans came from *Strathtay*, and were descended from the tribe of *Moray*, and *probably* obtained the lands of Ara, Shira, and Glenfyne, &c., from Alexander II. on the conquest of Argyle in 1221, *and must* as *crown vassals* have formed a part of the army *to whom the forfeited lands were originally given.*—(Ibid., Vol. II., p. 202.)

Murchard, a *vassal* of Earl of *Menteth* in North Kintyre joined Haco, who had obtained the district from *the Baron, to whom it had been granted by Alexander II.*—(Ibid., Vol. II., p. 53.)

The remainder of the great district of Argyle was now held of *the Crown* by those who had been *vassals* of *Somerled* by Dugald, the eldest son of Somerled by his second marriage.

Knapdale by the ancestors of the MacNeills of Castlesween.

South Kintyre, by Roderick, son of Reginald, second son of Somerled.

Lower Cowal and Craignish, by ancestors of the Lamonts, who, with the MacDougalls of Craignish, are derived from *Siol Eachern.*

North Kintyre, by a certain Duffgallus, the son of Syfin.

Upper Cowal, by a *Campbell,* whose original place was *Garmoran,* in North Argyle.—(Ibid., Vol. II., p. 48.)

This wonderful subjugation of Argyle by Alexander II. in 1221, which wrought such radical changes—supplanting the natives by strangers from the north—giving Crown charters to his followers and the natives that submitted, and completing his triumph by forming the district into a sheriffdom, are achievements that deserved to be kept in remembrance by better authorities than Fordon's fables and Winton's rhymes. These assertions would require some explanation:—

First. What makes Dr. Skene's deductions doubtful is that Alexander did not assign any portion of the alleged conquered district to the men of Lothian and Galloway, whom Fordon specially mentions, but conferred all his grants on the anonymous hosts from the outlying provinces of the north.

Second. Where is the proof, direct or implied, that the invasion ever took place? There was no centre to strike at, and no attempt to show where or on whom. If the army occupied Argyle for six months, it is surprising they have not left a wrack behind to show where.

Third. It is still more singular that the great families of Argyle, who were there before Alexander II., continued in their possessions till the time of King Robert the Bruce.

Fourth. He says: "The effect of the conquest was that those who previously held their possessions as vassals of Somerled, submitted, became Crown vassals, and held their lands in chief from the Crown."—(Highlanders, Vol. II., pp. 46–8.)

Of Argyle charters at this period Cosmo Innes says: "The materials of precise knowledge do not carry us so far back here as in the Lowlands, for charter tenures were not in favour among the early Celts. The previous history of the district—the cradle of the race from which Scotland has taken its name—is to be gathered from other sources, often not easily reconciled with each other, or with ascertained chronology—those parchments and feudal tenure service are laws of vassals and over-lords, and all the machinery following hereditary feudalism were alien to the institutions and systems of the Celts, where the chief led the clan indeed, and administered the common property for the benefit of all, as the patriarch of the great family, not as the lord of the soil."—(Pref. Orig. Par. Scotia, pp. xviii.–xix.)

Fifth. Where is the proof of a single Crown charter having been held at that early date in Argyle? William Robertson, in his Index of Records and Charters, says: "There are now in Scotland no records of any kind anterior to the accession of King Robert I."—(Intro. IX. Edin. 1798.)

Sixth. Dr. Skene says: "Alexander II., that sheriff-making monarch, among others formed the district of Argyle into a sheriffdom."—(Vol. II., p. 34.) The first known attempt at real sheriff-making in Scotland was by Edward I. in 1305, when he appointed sheriffs for twenty-four districts—Argyle, Caithness, and Sutherland are omitted. Lord Hailes says: "It may be supposed that these remote districts were not totally subdued." —(Hailes' Annals, Vol. I., pp. 313-14.)

Having thus endeavoured to dispel the accretions which perverted ingenuity has gathered about the origin of the old families of Argyle, I shall now proceed to show by authentic records the history of this people before the accession of King Robert Bruce to power in 1314.

Among the records bearing on the early history of the families of Argyle are the Chronicles of Man, the Scots Acts of Parliament, Rhymer's Foedera, and some old MSS., including MS. of 1450. The writers of the Scots Acts of Parliament at that early age apparently neither knew the district nor the people of Argyle. The chartularies of the monasteries, particularly of the Abbey of Paisley, to which grants of land, &c., were made by the old families, are most exactly chronicled, and without them many of the old state records would be perfect enigmas.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD FAMILIES OF ARGYLE.

The MS. of 1450, which was discovered, in 1833, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, consists of eight parchment leaves, covered with genealogies of the Highland clans, written in the old Irish character. This manuscript was considered of so much importance that great efforts were made to decipher it, as may be learned from the Iona Club Transactions.

The different clans in it are brought from two sources. First, the MacDonalds and their numerous connections are brought from Colla-Uais, an Irish king of the fourth century. The other clans mentioned in the manuscript are brought in different lines from Feredach Fin and his son Ferchar fada, the latter of whom was a king of Dalriada in the line of Loarn, and reigned in the early part of the eighth century. Dr. Skene says: "With this he could not agree, as it was almost inconceivable that the population of such an immense district could have sprung from the small and almost annihilated tribe of Loarn, and not from the other Dalriadic tribes."

This is merely the opinion of Dr. Skene, for which he gives no sufficient reasons, and he omits the following important considerations:—

First.—He forgets that in all ages of the world the action and intelligence of men were confined to limited and often barren centres, such as Scotland, Greece, and Palestine.

Second.—He is oblivious to the fact that the race of Loarn, through its twelve kings, from Ferchar fada to Kenneth M'Alpin, governed all Argyle from 676 till 843.

Third.—At the time of the union of the Scots and Picts Kenneth would naturally select intelligent men to fill places of trust. These could only be got in Argyle, as the Picts were wholly illiterate then. Those appointed, as a matter of course, would trace their origin to the Scoto-Irish race.

Fourth.—Kenneth would also appoint to place and power his friends who assisted him to get the mastery over the whole kingdom. We see in after times how exclusively Robert Bruce conferred his gifts on his friends and followers; Kenneth, as a wise king, would do likewise.

From these cogent reasons it is not surprising that all the Highland clans should trace their origin to the Scoto-Irish race of Argyle.

Before I proceed to trace the history of the early families of Argyle, it will be necessary to give a special sketch of the life of Somerled, the most powerful nobleman the district ever produced.

SOMERLED, THANE OF ARGYLE.

Like other heroes of antiquity, the particulars of the early life of Somerled are gathered from tradition. Scandinavia, Ireland, and Argyle, claim his extraction, and a share of his glory.

The origin of Somerled of Argyle, the undoubted founder of the race of the Lords of the Isles, is involved in considerable obscurity. Of his father Gillebride, and his grandfather Gilladomnan, we know little but their names.

According to Irish and Highland genealogists, Gilladomnan was the sixth in descent from a certain Godfrey MacFergus, who is called in an Irish chronicle, Tossach of the Isles, and who lived in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin. Others have asserted that he was undoubtedly a Scandinavian, by descent in the male line. Donald Gregory, who has examined the evidence on both sides says: "On the whole, the uniformity of the Highland and Irish traditions which can be traced back at least four hundred years, leads to the conclusion that the account first given of the origin of Somerled is correct." (Hist. West Highlands and Isles, p. 11.)

We are told that Gillebride, the father of Somerled, was expelled from his possessions, and that, with his son, he was forced to conceal himself for a time in a cave in Morvern, whence he is known in tradition as *Gillebride nan uamh*, or Gillebride of the caves.

Somerled when young was, through an accident, which is minutely detailed by tradition, drawn from his obscurity, and placed at the head of the men of Morvern, collected at the time to resist a band of Norse pirates, who threatened to ravage the district. On this occasion Somerled, by his courage and skill, defeated these fierce marauders; and soon after, following up this success, recovered his paternal inheritance, and made himself master of a large portion of Argyle, and became one of the most powerful chiefs in Scotland. Buchanan calls him "a thane of Argyle, whose fortune was above his family, and mind above his fortune." (Book vii., p. 250.)

Be that as it may, there is every reason to believe that by his talents and bravery he had now raised himself to a higher rank than his father or any of his immediate predecessors held.

It appears by no means improbable that Somerled, aware of his own power and resources, contemplated the conquest of a portion, at least, of the Isles, to which he may have laid claim through his remote ancestor Godfrey. On these and similar grounds, Olave the Red, king of Man and the Isles, was naturally desirous to disarm his enmity, and to secure the support of the powerful Thane of Argyle, whose marriage with Ragnhildis, the daughter of Olave, the first authentic event in the life of Somerled, seems to have answered this purpose. Of this marriage, which is lamented by the author of the 'Chronicle of Man' as the cause of the ruin of the whole kingdom of the Isles, the issue was three sons, Dugald, Reginald, and Angus.

We are now on historic ground. The marriage of Somerled and Ragnhildis took place in the year 1140.

Olave the Red, after a peaceful reign of forty years, was murdered in the Isle of Man by his nephews, the sons of Harold, who had been brought up in Dublin, and had made a claim to half the kingdom of the Isles. Godred the Black, his son, who was in Norway at the time of his father's death, returned to the Isles without delay, and being received with joy by the islanders as their king, apprehended and executed the murderers. Early in his reign he was invited by the Ostmen of Dublin to rule over them, and was thus led into wars in Ireland, in which he was successful; but on his return to Man, thinking that no one could resist his power, he conducted himself so tyrannically that he speedily alienated the affections of many of the insular chiefs. Among these the most powerful was Thorfin, the son of Ottar. This chieftain went to Somerled, and requested to have his son Dugald that he might set him on the throne of the Isles. Somerled gladly embraced the proposal and delivered up Dugald to his care. Thorfin accordingly took the young prince, and conducting him through the Isles, forced the inhabitants to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and to give hostages for their allegiance. Paul, a powerful chieftain, in the Norwegian interest however, thought proper to avoid such engagements. He immediately fled to Godred, and acquainted him with the intended revolution. The intelligence terrified Godred. He instantly ordered his vassals to get ready their ships, and without delay sail to meet the enemy. In the meantime Somerled was not idle; he collected a fleet of eighty galleys, and prepared for the combat.

A sea battle was fought between Godred and Somerled, during the night of Epiphany (1156), with great slaughter on both sides. Next morning, however, at daybreak they came to a compromise, and divided the sovereignty of the Isles; so from that period they have formed two distinct monarchies till the present time. (Chron. of Man.)

The point of Ardnamurchan formed the division between the North and the South Isles. By this treaty all the South Isles, except Man, were ceded to Somerled.

Two years after this treaty (1158) Somerled invaded Man with fifty-three ships, where, encountering Godred, he defeated that prince and, after plundering the whole island, departed. Godred on this passed over to Norway to solicit assistance against Somerled, but he did not return to the Isles till after Somerled's death, from which it may be inferred that the latter had succeeded in extending his sway over the whole southern Isles. (Chron. of Man and Gregory's Hist.)

Somerled's power and influence were not confined to Argyle and the Isles, but extended to the extreme part of the kingdom previous to these events.

About the year 1130, an insurrection took place by Angus, Earl of Moray, with Malcolm, bastard son of Alexander I., against King David I., when the confederates and about five thousand of their followers were slain. (Ann. of Ulster and Innisfallen.)

Four years thereafter (1134) one of the strangest incidents which occurred in the history of Scotland at this period was the insurrection of Malcolm MacEth, who afterwards claimed to be a son of Angus, Earl of Moray, and on whose behalf Somerled was considerably involved.

Of the early history of this claimant the Church records say he was born in obscurity. In his own profession, quoted by Stubbs, he says: "*Ego Wymundus sanctae ecclesiae de Schid,*" which Skene translates Skye. (Celtic Scotland, Vol. I., p. 463.)

I presume this holy Church of Schid was in the vicinity of Skiath, in Kintyre, of which more.

He first appears as a monk of the Cistertian monastery of Furness (which had been founded in the year 1124) as brother Wymundus. According to William of Newburgh, he possessed an ardent temper, a retentive memory, and competent eloquence, and advanced so rapidly that the highest expectations were formed of him. In 1134, Olave, the Norwegian king of Man, granted lands in that island to Yvo, abbot of Furness, in Lancashire, to found an affiliated monastery at Russin, and brother Wymund was sent with some monks to fill it; and here we are told, he so pleased the barbarous natives with the sweetness of his address, and the openness of his countenance, being also of a tall and athletic make, that they requested him to become their bishop, and obtained their desire. He no sooner obtained this position than he announced himself to be the son of the Earl of Moray, who had been slain in 1130, and that he was deprived of the inheritance of his father by the king of Scotland. His claim appears to have been recognised as genuine by the Norwegian kings of the Isles and by Somerled, Regulus of Argyle, whose sister he married. Lord Hailes says it was a daughter of Somerled (Vol. I.), quoting from the Chron. of St. Crucis, which says: "*Apud Scotiam Somerled et nepotes sui filii scilicet Malcolmi.*" But this could not be, as he only married Ragnhildis in 1140. MacEth collected a band of followers who took oath to him. He dropped his monastic name, Wymund, for his Celtic appellation of Malcolm MacEth, and for three years he made a descent on the provinces of Scotland, wasting all before him with rapine and slaughter; but whenever the royal army was despatched against him he eluded the whole warlike preparation by retreating to distant forests or taking to the sea; and when the troops had retired he again issued from his hiding places, to ravage the provinces. He was at last caught in attempting to cross the river Cree, in Galloway, and consigned to perpetual imprisonment. (Celt. Scotland, Vol. I., pp. 460-64.)

Somerled does not seem to have taken any part with his brother-in-law in these raids, but on the accession of Malcolm IV., the grandson of David, to the throne in 1153, Somerled rose against him in conjunction with his nephews, the sons of Malcolm MacEth, and assailed the kingdom in all quarters. (Chron. of St. Crucis.)

The civil war lasted three years, when, in the year 1156 Donald, the eldest son of Malcolm MacEth, was taken prisoner at Whitherne, in Galloway, by some of King Malcolm's adherents, and delivered over to him, when he was imprisoned in the castle of Marchmont (Hailes says the Castle of Roxburgh), along with his father. Somerled however continued the war, and Malcolm found it expedient to neutralise the support he received from those who still adhered to the cause of Malcolm MacEth, by coming to terms with him. Accordingly he liberated Malcolm (and no doubt his son Donald) in the following year, and he gave him a province, which suspended the incursions he had instigated. Skene says there is good reason to think that this province was the earldom of Ross, as the king grants letters about this time of protection to the monks of Dunfermline, addressed "*Malcomo Comite de Ros*," &c." In 1157 he witnesses a charter of King Malcolm to the monastery of Dunfermline, as Malcolm MacEth, in which he is placed immediately after "*Gilbertus Comes de Angus*," and before "*Walterus filius Alani*," the high steward of Scotland before 1160. (Celt. Scot., vol. I., pp. 470-71.)

The great delivery effected by Somerled for MacEth and his family enabled him to bring that contest with the Scottish king to a close by a treaty, which was so important as to form an epoch from which royal charters were dated. (Gregory's History, p. 15.) This is referred to in Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, page 425, which mentions a charter in the possession of the family of Innes, granted by "*Rerowaldus Flandrensis apud Pert natali domini Post concordium regis et Summerledi.*" (Haile's Annals, vol. I., p. 115., f.n.) (See also Shaw's History of Moray, p. 392.)

The last episode in the eventful history of this powerful chief is somewhat mysterious. From the year 1158, in which he subdued Godred, king of Man, till 1164, history is silent as to his movements. There are many conjectures as to the cause and object of his invasion on Renfrew in the latter year. Dr. Skene says, "King Malcolm discovers that Somerled was becoming too powerful to be permitted to remain in a partial state of independence which he assumed; he accordingly demanded that Somerled should resign his lands into the king's hands and hold them in future as his vassal, and he prepared to enforce his demands by the aid of a powerful army. Somerled, however, emboldened by his previous successes, was little disposed to yield compliance to the king's desire, but on the contrary resolved to anticipate the attack. Collecting his fleet accordingly he soon appeared on the Clyde and landed at Renfrew." (Skene's Highlanders, vol. I., p. 44.)

This is very plausible, but unfortunately there is no evidence to show that Malcolm made the demand or any preparation to enforce it. This is the view Dr. Skene takes of the affair at a more recent date. He says: "What provoked this invasion we know not, but it proved fatal to himself."—(Celt. Scot., Vol. I., p. 473.)

It is more likely that Somerled, seeing that the king commenced to crush the independent princes of Scotland in detail, was compelled to make this fatal move. We learn that Malcolm invaded Galloway thrice in 1160, and in the same year invaded the district of Moray, and, according to Fordon, "removed all from the land of their birth, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and on this side thereof, so that not even a native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people."—(Celt. Scot. Vol. I., p. 472.)

For these reasons Somerled may have intended to cause a diversion in their favour, or try issues with the king in the heart of the country before he could pounce on Argyle. Somerled, therefore, in the year 1164, got together a fleet of 160 galleys, with the determined resolution of making a complete conquest of Scotland. The Chronicles of the period say: "The wrath of God, however, pursued him. He was routed by a handful of men, and he himself, his son, and a vast multitude of their troops, were slaughtered by the Scots."—(Chronicle of Man.)

There is a great mystery surrounding the death of Somerled, and that of his son, which requires some explanation.

We see above that the Chronicle of Man says that "the wrath of God pursued him." I presume because of some of his followers having plundered the church of Kilmachow in Man in 1158. Others claim the merit of the disaster to the intercession of St. Kentigern.—(Fordon.) Buchanan says, "He himself being saved and brought alive for further scorn and punishment, though some say both he and his son were slain in battle." (Vol. I., Book 7). Donald Gregory says: "According to the usual accounts Somerled was slain with one of his sons, and his great armament dispersed with much loss by a very inferior force of the Scots. But from the well known character of this celebrated chief, there seems great reason to believe that tradition is correct when it states that he was assassinated in his tent by an individual in whom he placed confidence, and that his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles. From the same traditionary source we learn that the king of Scotland sent a boat with the corpse of Somerled to Icolmkill at his own charges; but modern enquiries rather lead to the conclusion that he was interred in the church of Saddel in Kintyre."—(Gregory's History, pp. 15, 16.)

The circumstances connected with the death of Somerled, as recorded in the Chronicle of Man, and by Buchanan, being so vague and indefinite, I prefer the tradition referred to by Gregory. The incidents which led to it I quote in full:—

"Somerled, being envied by the rest of the nobility of Scotland for his fortune and valour, King Malcolm being young, thought by all means his kingdom would suffer by the faction, ambition, and envy of his leading men, if Somerled's increasing power would not be crushed. Therefore they convened and sent an army into Argyle, under Gilchrist, Thane of Angus, who, harrassing and ravaging the country wherever he came, desired Somerled to give up his right to Argyle, or abandon the Isles. But Somerled, making all the speed he could in raising his vassals and followers, went after them, and joining battle, they fought fiercely on both sides with great slaughter, till night parted them. Two thousand on Somerled's side, and seven thousand on Gilchrist's side, were slain on the field. Being wearied they parted, and marched off at the dawn of day, turning their backs to one another. After this, when the king came to manhood, the nobles were still in his ears, desiring him to suppress the pride of Somerled, hoping if he should be crushed they should or might get his estate to be divided among themselves, and at least get him expelled the country. Somerled, being informed hereof, resolved to lose all or possess all he had in the Highlands; therefore, gathering together all his forces in the Isles and continent (or mainland), and shipping them for Clyde, landed in Greenock (this place is more reasonable than Renfrew, where it would be foolish to take one hundred and sixty galleys among its many shallows and sandbanks.) The king came with his army to Glasgow in order to give battle to Somerled, who marched up the south side of the Clyde, leaving his galleys at Greenock. The king's party quartered at Renfrew. Those about him thought proper to send a message to Somerled, the contents of which were that the king should not molest Somerled for the Isles, which were properly his wife's rights; but as for the lands of Argyle and Kintyre, he would have restored them to himself. Somerled replied that he had as good a right to the lands upon the continent as he had to the Isles; yet these lands were unjustly possessed by the King MacBeath and Donald Bain, and that he thought it did not become his majesty to hinder him from the recovery of his own rights, of which his predecessors were deprived by MacBeath, out of revenge for standing in opposition to him after the murder of King Duncan. As to the Isles, he had an undoubted right to them—that when his forefathers were dispossessed of them by the invasion of the Danes, they had no assistance to defend or recover them from the Scottish king, and that he had his right of them from the Danes; but, however, he would be assisting the king in any other affairs, and would prove as loyal as any of his nearest friends, but as long as he breathed he would not condescend to resign any of his rights which he possessed to any; that he resolved to lose all or keep all, and that he thought himself as worthy of his own as any about the king's court. The messenger retired with the answer to the king, whose party was not altogether bent upon joining battle with Somerled, neither did the king look much after his ruin, but, as the most of kings are commonly led by their counsellors, the king himself being young, they contrived Somerled's death in another manner. There was a nephew of Somerled, Maurice MacNeill, his sister's son, who was bribed to destroy him.

Somerled lay encamped at the confluence of the river Pasley into Clyde. His nephew, taking a little boat, went over the river, and, having got private audience of him, being suspected by none, stabbed him and made his escape. The rest of Somerled's men, learning the death and tragedy of their leader and master, betook themselves to their galleys—this is the report of twenty writers in Icollumkill, before Hector Boetuis and Buchanan were born." (MS. History of the Macdonalds, written in the reign of Charles II. See Iona Club Transactions, Vol. I., Part IV., pp. 284-286.)

Regarding the death of his son, Gillacolane or Gillacallum, Lord Hailes is the first to mention him by name, which he quotes from a Chronicle of the Scots in manuscript. (Annals, Vol. I., p. 121.) It is likely the name has crept into this MS. from the monkish story in the Chronicle of Man of a Gillacallum who was with Somerled at the sea fight in Man in 1158, and who had plundered the church of Kilmachow, and was punished by death through the merits of Saint Machutus.

The only other documents that record the death of Somerled and his son are the Chronicles of Melrose, Man, and the Annals of Ulster.

Both the first and the second merely say, "*Cum filio suo*," and the third has it, "*Somhairlaid mac Gilleadh-amhnan acus a mhac do mharbhadh.*" Seeing he is merely mentioned by the three as the son of Somerled, it is almost certain that this was Dugald, his eldest son and heir, who was put in possession of the Western Isles by Thorfinn, in 1154, and had them confirmed after the sea battle between Somerled and Godred on the night of Epiphany, 1156. After the death of his father, he would, as a matter of course, succeed to his possessions, but instead of that, we learn from the Chartulary of Paisley that Somerled's second son, Reginald, succeeded his father, and was styled Lord of Inchgall, King of the Isles and Lord of Ergile and Kyntire. (Origines Par. Scot., Kyntyre.)

Whatever effect the disaster at Renfrew had on Somerled's army it is clear that neither Malcolm IV. or his successor, William, had the courage to follow up the alleged victory, as Reginald, the son of Somerled, immediately succeeded his father in all his power and glory.

Having thus given a sketch of the life of Somerled, I come now to consider the possessions and history of the early families of Argyle.

DESCRIPTION OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE FIVE FAMILIES IN ARGYLE, ON RECORD BEFORE THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER III., IN 1285.

I.—The family of Somerled, as represented by Reginald, possessed all the islands from Islay to Ardnamurchan, including Bute and Arran, and on the mainland the lower half of Kintyre, Craignish, Lorn, Benderloch, Appin, Morvern, and Ardnamurchan, and even to Ross-shire.

II.—The family of Syfin or Swene possessed the upper half of Kintyre and all Knapdale, embracing the parishes of Kilcalmonel, Skipness, South and North Knapdale, extending on the south across from Rudhnahaorain, on the west to Cour on the east, and on the north from Crinan on the west to Lochgilp on the east.

III.—The family of Lamont possessed all Cowal and part of Argyle proper, the latter bounded in the south by Lochgilp and Lochcrinan, extending northward by east of Lochawe to Braevallich and across to Braeleckan on Lochfyne.

IV.—The family of MacNaughtan possessed the upper part of Lochawe, Glenera, Glenshira, and Glenfyne.

V.—The family of MacGregor possessed east of Lochetive Cruachan, Glenstray, Glenorchy, and Glenlochy.

HISTORICAL NOTES OF THE OLD FAMILIES OF ARGYLE.

FIRST.—REGINALD AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

After the death of Somerled and his son Dugald, Reginald seized upon almost all their possessions, to the exclusion of his brother Angus, which caused two bloody battles. Gregory says: "Bute was assigned to Angus, Arran was perhaps divided between him and Reginald, and may have been the cause of the deadly quarrel, which we know existed between them; for in 1191 the Chronicle of Man mentions a battle between Reginald and Angus, in which the latter obtained the victory. Eighteen years later we learn on same authority that "Angus was killed and his three sons by the men of Skye." (History, p. 17.) Gregory gives the Chronicle of Man as his authority, but on neither occasion does that document name a place. The entries are as follow: "1192, *Commissum cst bellum inter filios Sumerlidi Reginaldum ct Engus in quo bcllo multi vulnerari corruerunt Engus tamen victoriam obtinuit.*" "1210, *Engus filius Sumerlidi cum tribus filius suis occisus est.*"

Dr. Skene, quoting from the Annals of Ulster, also makes the last battle with the men of Skye: "1208, *Cath tucsat meic Raghnaill mic Somairligh for fcraibh Sciadh du in ra marbhadh an ar.*" In English: "A battle given by the sons of Ronald, the son of Somerled, to the men of Skye, who were slain with great slaughter." (Chron. of Picts and Scots.)

Another version of the Annals of Ulster has it: "1209, Battle given to the MacSomerleds by the men of Skiath." (Celto-Normanica.)

THE MEN OF SKIATH.

The inexplicable point here is how and where did the sons of Somerled come in collision with the men of Skye? Hitherto neither Somerled nor his sons were heard of north of Ardnamurchan. In the present case we see that Angus was shut in by the peninsula of Kintyre, and that the deadly feud was between him and his brother Reginald. Sciath, therefore, must be sought elsewhere.

Kintyre being the centre of Somerled's possessions, he is likely to have resided there, as he is said to have been buried in Saddel. Reginald in one of his titles is styled Lord of Kintyre. (Register Passelet.) He is likely to have resided at Dunaverty or Aberto, a royal residence of the Dalriadic kings. In that vicinity there is a place called Cara-sgiath and also Cara-sgeith; the prefix *Cara* being descriptive of dangerous rocks on the coast of its locality. The Bay of Cara-sgeith is known to mariners as that stretching east of Dunaverty Castle to west of the mansionhouse of Cara-sgeith near the Mull of Kintyre. This also included the old church and burying ground of Kill Callumkille.

Among grants given by Queen Mary in 1545 to James MacConnyll are two marks of the lands of *Karschaych.* In Archdeacon Munro's description of the Western Isles in 1549, he says there was a castle of Carrick *Skeath* apparently situated on an island.

In 1618, the Privy Council committed the keeping of the castle of Kilkerran to Hector MacNeill of *Carskeay,* (Origines Par. Scot.)

We have already seen that Wymund, the fourteenth bishop of the Isles (Spottiswood), otherwise called Malcom MacEth, says of himself: "*Ego Wymundus sanctae ecclesiae de* Schid," which Skene translates Skye. It is probable that it was at the castle of Sgiath, in Kintyre, or visiting the church of Callumkille, he became acquainted with his wife, the sister of Somerled.

In the tributes paid to Baedan, king of Ulster, by Aedan, king of Dalriada, Aedan is made to say:

> Cid mise thanic O *Sci*
> Do ruachtus fo di sa tri
> A coimed set ro clai dath
> Is aduar in t—Albanach.
>
> Even I who have come from *Sci* ;
> I have come twice and three times
> To convey gems of varying hues.
> The Albanach feels neglected.
> —(Chron. Picts and Scots, pp. 47-128.)

These references indicate the real position of Sgiath.

From the foregoing it is probable that Angus and his sons, who had been victorious in 1192, were emboldened in 1208 or 1210 to make a descent either from Bute or Arran upon Kintyre to seize the residence of Reginald, and there were encountered by Reginald and his men on the field of Sgiath, where Angus and his three sons were slain. I have already said that the Chronicle of Man calls the combatants MacSomerleds, or sons of Somerled, but the followers of Reginald alone could be termed the men of *Sgiath*, as they were in actual possession.

To expiate for these and other bloody deeds, before the year 1200 Reginald became a monk of Paisley, and granted to that monastery eight cows and two pennies for one year, and one penny in perpetuity for every house in his territories from which smoke issued, and his peace and protection to the monks, whithersoever they should go, enjoining his dependents and his heirs in no way to injure them, and swearing by Saint Columba to inflict on the former the punishment of death, and that the latter should have his malediction if they disobeyed his injunctions. His wife Fonia, who was a sister of the convent, granted to the monks of Paisley the tithes of all her goods, whether in her own possession, or sent for sale by land or sea.—(Reg. Pass.)

Before 1250 the Abbey of Sagadull, afterwards termed Sandall and Saddel, was founded for monks of the Cistertian Order by Reginald, the son of Sorlet, who styled himself King of the Isles and Lord of Argyle and Kintyre. He granted to the monks the lands of Glensagadull and twelve marks of Baltebeam in the lordship of Kintyre, and the twenty mark lands of Ceskan in the Isle of Arane.—(Origines Par. Scot. Killean.)

According to a deed which still exists in the Vatican, in the year 1203 Reginald established the Benedictines or Black Monks in Iona, also a nunnery there for Black Nuns, of which his sister Beatrice was the first prioress.—(Celt. Scot., Vol. II., chap. vii.

In 1426, Andrew Stewart, the prior of Paisley, caused a notorial transcript of the charter of Reginald to be made, on which occasion the impression of the Lord of Inchegall is there described by the notary Robert Hopprew—in the middle of the seal on one side a ship filled with men-at-arms, and on the reverse the figure of an armed man on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand.—(Origines Par. Scot., Vol. I.. p. 2.)

The family of Reginald were Rotheric, Donald, and Dugald. At first Rotheric apparently possessed Kintyre, Donald the Isles, and Dugald Lorn, &c.

ROTHERIC.

Rotheric in his early years was a noted rover. In 1212 Thomas, son of Uchtred, king of Galloway, with the sons of Reginald the son of Somerled, came to Derrycallumkill with seventy-six ships. They plundered Derry Innisowen and Clanconnell.

In 1213, Thomas MacUchtred and Roderick, son of Reginald, rifled Derry, and carried away the most of the valuable effects of the town and of the churches in the north of Ireland.—(Ann. Ulst.)

Before the year 1250, a charter of Roderick, the son of Reginald, is witnessed by Gilbert, the parson of Kilkerran. Before the year 1251, Rotheric, the son of Reginald, granted in honour of Saint Mary and Saint John, for the service of the church of St. John in Kintyre, five penny lands, viz., three from the same church of Saint John (Killean), and two from the church of Saint Mary (Kilmarrow.) He also granted to the monks of Saddel the lands of Glentoresdale and Vgladull in the lordship of Kintyre.—(Origines Par. Scot.)

Besides Kintyre, Rotheric laid claim to Bute, but his cousin James, the son of Angus, who was slain at Sgiath, left a daughter named Jean, who married Alexander, the son of Walter, High Steward of Scotland. She in her right laid a prior claim to Bute, and for the time her husband expelled Rotheric. The latter made complaint to Haco—which led to his celebrated expedition—who on his arrival restored Bute to Rotheric, which he held till after the battle of Largs in 1263. Rotheric continued his predatory habits, till at last the Government granted to him and his sons, Dugald and Allan, extensive lands in the North Isles. Hence this family came to be styled the Macruaries of the North Isles. On the death of Dugald, one of the brothers called Rex Hebudum Allan, the survivor, united in his person the possessions of both, to which afterwards he appears to have added the lordship of Garmoran. Allan was one of the noblemen who, in 1285, attended the Scottish Parliament at which the crown was settled on the Maid of Norway. He had a daughter and heiress called Christina, also a bastard son named Roderick, to whom his sister Christina gave a large portion of her inheritance in Garmoran and the North Isles. (Gregory's History, pp. 17-23.)

DONALD.

It is singular, although Donald is the lineal descendant of Somerled, and from him the Lords of the Isles derive their patronymic, that there is less known of him than of Roderick, his brother. All that we know of him in history are his grants to the monks of Paisley. We read: "After the year 1210, Donald, the son of Reginald, who had become a monk, and whose wife was a sister of the convent, granted to the monks of Paisley eight cows for one year, and one penny, or eight cows, as a permanent yearly payment for every house in his territories that emitted smoke." (Origines Par. Scot.)

According to Highland tradition (Macdonald's MS.), Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain absolution for various enormities of his former life; and on his return evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddell and to other religious houses. (Brown's History of the Highland Clans. Vol. IV., p. 430.)

Donald was succeeded by his son

ANGUS.

This was the Angus mòr of the Seanachies. Before the year 1250, Engus, the son of Douenald, lord of Hyle, for the will of the soul of King Alexander II., granted to the monks of Paisley the church of Saint Queran in his land, which is called Kentyr. (Origines Par. Scot., Kilkerran.) In 1255, early in the reign of Alexander III., Angus was closely pursued by that king because he would not consent to become his vassal.

At the date of Haco's expedition, 1263, we find the family of Isla was represented by Angus, the son of Donald. (Gregory's Hist., pp. 18-20.)

In 1282, letters were sent to the barons of Argyle that they shall faithfully serve the king against Angus, filius Douenaldi, under pain of being disinherited. (Act Parl. Scot., App.)

In 1284, Anegus filius Douenald is one of the three magnates of Argyle who attended the Scottish Parliament in which the Crown was settled on the maid of Norway. (Rymer's Foedera, p. 760.)

Before the year 1295, Angus, the son of Dovenald, became a monk, granted to the convent of Paisley one penny yearly for every house in his territories, and half a mark of silver from his own mansion. (Origines Par. Scot., Kintyre.)

Angus mòr left two sons, Alexander and Angus òg.

ALEXANDER.

By marriage with the daughter and heiress of Ewen of Ergadia or Lorn, son of Duncan, Alexander acquired additional lands to his extensive possessions. It appears that King John Baliol conferred part of these lands on the interlopers, which went to form the Sheriffdom of Argyle in 1292. For in 1295, Alexander of the Isles cites John Baliol before the king of England for compelling him to restore the third of Lismore, which he obtained by his marriage with the heiress of Ewen, and Edward obliged Baliol to restore these lands to Alexander.

Alexander having joined his kinsman, Alexander de Ergadia or Lorn, in his opposition to the claims of King Robert Bruce, became involved in the ruin of that chief, and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald Castle, where he died.

ANGUS ÒG.

From the first, Angus had taken a decided part in support of the interests of Bruce, and after his retreat from Methven and Dalree, Bruce gladly availed himself of the hospitality of his friend for himself and followers. After shewing many tokens of fidelity and valour in Bruce's lesser exploits, Angus and his followers were summoned to combat the army of King Edward II. at Bannockburn. Bruce anxiously awaited the arrival of Angus, whom some of the leaders now suspected of treachery. Immediately, however, on his arrival at Torwood, near Falkirk, where the army stood encamped, Bruce addressed him in a loud tone, and, as a proof of confidence, observed, "My hope is constant in thee," which is still the motto of the lineal representatives of the Lords of the Isles. No stronger proof of the sincerity of this declaration could have been given than the appointment of this fine body along with the men of Carrick, as a reserve, of which the king himself took the command. On the 24th June, 1314, the two armies met at Bannockburn, the Scots at first suffered severely by the English archers, so that victory for a time was extremely doubtful, when the brave reserve were summoned into action and speedily decided the fate of the day, on which depended the liberty and independence of Scotland. The king generously acknowledged his deep sense of these important services by granting to Angus the extensive territories of the Comyns (in the west) together with those of their ally, the Lord of Lorn. (New Ecc. Stat., Vol. VII., pp. 442-3.)

Bruce's gifts to his faithful friend were very capricious. Of them Gregory says:—While Bruce thus rewarded his faithful adherents he was too sensible of the weakness of Scotland on the side of the Isles not to take precautionary measures against the possible defection of any of the great families on the coast who might admit with ease the English force into the heart of the kingdom. He procured from Angus òg, who was now apparently the principal crown vassal in Kintyre (Argyle), the resignation of his lands in that district, which were immediately bestowed upon Robert, the son and heir of Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, and the princess Marjory Bruce." (History, p. 25.)

The conduct of Bruce to Angus verifies a remark lately made by the Marquis of Bute that "Bruce served his country well, but himself and his relatives better."

DUGALD OF LORN.

Historians are not agreed as to who this Dugald was. One party derive him from Dugald, the eldest son of Somerled, and the other party from Somerled's grandson, the son of Reginald. Both Gregory and Browne assert that he was a son of Somerled; but they are contradicted by MS. charters and histories.

The MS. of 1450, states that Clan Dugall, as well as Clan Rory and Clan Donald, sprang from Ronald or Reginald, the son of Somerled.

This is also affirmed by the chartulary of Cupar, which makes Alexander de Ergadia the son of Duncan, the son of Dugall, the son of Reginald, the son of Somerled.

The Kilbride MS. also traces the Macdougalls of Lorn to Reginald thus: "John or *Iain bacach,* son of *Alaster mor* of Argyle or Lorn, the son of Duncan, the son of Dugall, son of Reginald, the son of Somerled."

Of Dugall, the progenitor of the house of Lorn, nothing particular is known, but that he had a son called

DUNCAN.

In 1230 or 1231, the Priory of Ardchattan was founded for monks of the order of Vallis Caulium by Dunkan MakDougall, the head of the great family of Lorn, and, like most of these foundations, had many of the older churches bestowed on it; the dependencies of the Priory were the churches of Balivedan within the parish it was situated, and which was dedicated to St.

Modan; of Kilninver in Lorn, Kilbrandon in Seil, Kirkapol in Tiree, Kilmonivaig in Lochaber, and Kilmarrow in Kintyre. (Origines Par. Scot.) The order of Vallis Caulium had its origin in Burgundy in France. It was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Innocent III., 10th February, 1205-6. Twenty-five years later three priories were founded in Britain, viz.: Pluscarden in Moray, Beauly in Ross, and Ardchattan in Argyle. The histories of the priories of Pluscarden and Beauly have been written, but there is no prospect of the history of Ardchattan being undertaken. All that is known about it are references in the injunctions of the mother seminary to the prior of Beauly, the ruins and its founding by Duncan, son of Dougall, son of Reginald, son of Somerled, in 1230.

Skene says: "A few years later it was resolved to remove the seat of the bishopric, probably for security, to the island of Lismore, when it was in 1251 endowed by Eugenius, the son of Dunkan of Argyle." (Celtic Scotland, Vol. II.) This removal could only be partial, as we find in the year 1296, "Pieres, the prior of Ercattan, and the whole convent, swore fealty to King Edward I." (Ragman Rolls.)

Duncan appears to have had two sons, Ewen and Alexander, both styled "de Ergadia."

EWEN.

Ewen grants a charter to the See of Argyle in 1240, which begins "*Omnibus sanctae matris ecclesia filiis hes literas visuris vel auditurus Eugenus miles filius Duncani de Erregaithill.*" This Ewen seems also to have had a son called Ewen, who in 1304 makes certain grants to the See of Argyle, which run thus: "*Universis sanctae matris Ecclesia filiis ad quos presentes literoe pervenerint Eugenius de Ergadia, Dominus de Lorne, de Menderaloch et de Lismore Eternum in Domino Salutem.*" (Reg. Great Seal.)

Alexander, the son of Angus of the Isles, married the daughter and heiress of this Ewen, as already referred to.

The other son of Duncan, the son of Dugall, was

ALEXANDER DE ERGADIA.

This was the most powerful of the MacDougalls of Lorn, through his having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican Church at Dumfries.

His history from 1283 to 1310 is a romantic pageant.

Among the great barons summoned by Alexander III., 5th February, 1283-84, to the Parliament of Scone to settle the succession of the Crown was Alexander de Ergadia. In 1284, Alexander de Ergadia attended at the Scottish Parliament that settled the Crown on the maid of Norway. (Rymer's Foedera.)

In the letter addressed by the Estates of Scotland assembled at Brigham near Roxburgh in 1289, regarding the marriage of the maid of Norway with Prince Edward of England, which letter was signed by the dignified clergy and all the earls and barons of the realm, among the latter is Alisaundre de Ergayl. (Ibid.) In 1290, Alexander was one of those who, in the name of the community of Scotland, assented to King Edward's proposal for marrying the maiden of Norway to Edward his son. (Ibid.)

On the day of the feast of St. Thomas, 1292, Alexander de Ergaithel Seigneur de Lorn comes under obligation to Edward of England to keep peace in his parts of the Isles. (Hugh MacDonald's Papers.)

In 1292, the testimonials declaring that the competitors, Baliol and Bruce, had so completed their pleadings that King Edward might proceed to judgment. Among the magnates appointed as auditors is Alisaundre de Ergeyle.—(Palgrave's Illustrations.)

In the first Parliament held in Scotland by King John Baliol in Scone in 1292, Alexander de Ergadia is appointed vicecometatis or governor of Mid-Argyle.—(Scots' Acts Par.)

In 1292-3, Alexander de Ergadia is ordered by King John Baliol to summon Angus son of Donald, Laumun son of Ereghar, and Angus son of Duncan the son of Ereghar, to do homage to King John.—(Ibid.)

In 1296, King Edward I. ordered Alexander, Earl of Meneteth, to seize all the lands of Alexander of Ergyl, and of John, his son.—(Rotuli Scotia.)

In the year 1296, Alexander of Ergayl, chevalier, and Maucolum, his brother, swore fealty to King Edward at Berwick-on-Tweed.—(Ragman Rolls.)

In 1306, Bruce and his followers sought refuge from the English among the mountains of Argyle. Alexander of Argyle, eager to revenge the death of his friend, the Red Comyn, attacked the king; a fierce combat ensued, and the royalists were overpowered at Dalree. The prowess of Bruce on this occasion is so popular as to comprise almost all that is handed down in history of the house of Lorn. Lord Hailes says: "This story is related with many minute circumstances, and may be true. I could not, however, venture to place it in my narrative." —(Annals of Scotland, Vol. II., p. 8.

In 1308, among the signatories to the letter of the Scottish nobles addressed to the king of France regarding Robert Bruce, is that of Alexander de Ergadia.—(Rotuli Scotia.)

In the same year, Alexander of Argyle, who about this period was one of the Council of John of Bretagni, King Edward's lieutenant of Scotland, returned to the allegiance of King Robert Bruce.—(Palgrave's Illustrations.)

In 1310, Alexander was again in the English interest. From this date it is uncertain how he ended his days, but his son John remained faithful to Edward and his son, but was the inveterate enemy of King Robert Bruce all his days.

About the first year of the reign of King David II., he granted a charter to John Lorn of all his lands in Lorne, whilk were Alexander of Lorne's within Lorne.—(Robertson's Index.)

SECOND.—THE FAMILY OF SWENE.

The family of Swene has been overlooked, or misunderstood, by our modern historiographers. Of this family Dr. Skene says: "North Kintyre was held by a certain Duffgallus, the son of Syfin." He also says Murchard, a vassal of the Earl of Menteth in North Kintyre, obtained the district from the baron to whom it had been granted by Alexander II.—(Hist. Highlanders, Vol. II., p. 53.)

Skene might tell us who this baron was that gave the district to Murchard.

Not a great deal was known of the Menteth Stewarts. The founder of the race was Walter, a younger brother of Alexander the fourth High Steward, who, marrying a daughter of Maurice, Earl of Menteth, was, after a protracted suit with Walter Comyn and his son William, awarded the earldom by a decree of the Parliament held at Scone in 1285.

We shall immediately see that both Dufgal and Murchard were of the house of Swene, and had possession of both Kintyre and Knapdale before the Earl of Menteth had a footing there.

The extensive possessions of this family, as already described, extended from the middle of the peninsula of Kintyre to Crinan and Lochgilp. Their strongholds were Castle Sween in Knapdale, and Castle Skipness in Kintyre. Like the other old families of Argyle, they were not unmindful of the Paisley fraternity.

In the year 1247, Pope Innocent IV. confirmed to the rector of the Church of Saint Calmonel in Kentyr, a certain portion of land, commonly called a penny land, which had been granted to that church by Dufgal, late patron of same. (Reg. Pass., p. 123.)

In the year 1261, Dufgal, the son of Syfin, with the consent of John, his heir, granted to the monks of Paisley the right of patronage of the Church of Saint Colmanel, which was situated near the Castle of Schepehinche, after the death of Clement, rector of said church, bequeathing at same time his body to be buried in the monastery of Paisley. (Ibid., pp. 120-121.)

In the year 1262, Walter Steward, Earl of Menthet, confirmed to the monks of Paisley the grants of Dufgal, the son of Syfin, made to them before he gave him (Walter Steward) his lands of Schyphinche, regarding the Church of Saint Colmanel, situated within the said land, with one penny land belonging to that church and the chapel near the Castle of Schyphinche. (Ibid., pp. 121-122.)

Dufgal granted Walter Steward, of Menchet, his lands of Schyphinche in free barony to the king, for two-thirds of one soldier and other service. (Ibid., pp. 120-121.)

In October, 1269, the following grants were inspected by Bishop Lawrence of Argyle, viz.:—"*Nos inspexise cartas Domini Engusii filii Dovenaldi et* Dufgalli filii Syffyn *nec non Duncani filii Ferkardi et Lawmani filii Malcomi nepotis ejusdem,*" upon the collation and patronage of Kilkerran, Calmonell, and Kilfinan in Kethrome Congal (Kerry in Cowal.) (Ib., p. 136.)

In 1292, the Earl of Menteth's lands of Knapdale are named in an ordinance of King John Baliol. (Act Parl. Scot., Vol. I., p. 91.)

King Robert Bruce is said to have granted, before the year 1310, the lands of Knapdale to John of Menteth. About the eighteenth year of the reign of King Robert Bruce, he granted charter of certain lands in Kincardineshire to John Monteth by excambion of some lands in Argyle. (Robertson's Index.)

In 1310, King Edward II., in order that John of Swein (this is apparently the John that gave his consent to Dufgal's grant to the monks of Paisley), of Argyle, and Terealnanogh and Murqecgh his brothers, might render themselves more hateful to John of Menteth his enemy, and to others his enemies in Scotland, granted to them the *whole lands of Knapdale, which belonged to their ancestors,* provided they could recover it out of his enemies' hands. (Rot. Scot., Vol. I., p. 90.)

THIRD.—THE FAMILY OF LAMONT.

In Dr. Skene's table of the descent of the Highland Clans he says: "Clan Dugald Craignish and Clan Lamont have descended from Siol-Eachern." This is a mistake. He seems to have taken MacEachern for MacEregher or MacFhearchar, the latter a patronymic of the family before they assumed the surname of Lamont. The first MacEachern we meet with in Argyle is a Colin Makauchern, apparently an Ayrshire celt, to whom James IV., in 1499, granted certain land in the lordship of South Kentyr, with the office of Mayr of fee of that lordship.—(Origines Par. Scot., Vol. I., p. 10.)

None of the old families of Argyle have left their name and deeds more minutely engrossed on the records of church and state than the Lamont family. In the MS. of 1450, the genealogy of the Lamonts is traced to the same source as that of Somerled, Thane of Argyle. Thus—"*Genelach ic Gillilamont Murchadh ic Feairchair MacColl mac ic Mhurchai ic Ferchar mòr MacDonch ic Nicail MacGilliagam mòr.*" In English—Genealogy of the Lamonts. Murdoch, son of Ferchard, son of Coll, grandson of Murdoch, son of Ferchard mòr, son of Duncan, son of Nicail, son of Gilliagam mòr.

This brings down the pedigree from Gilliagam to Ferchard, the great-grandfather of Lamont. Ferchard's son was Duncan, and Duncan had two sons—Malcolm and Angus. Malcolm's son was Lamont, and he had two sons—Malcolm and Malmory, of which more hereafter.

The possessions of the Lamonts, as already described, extended over Cowal and part of Argyle proper, and there is reason to suppose over the greater part of Bute at the dawn of their history.

In a charter dated before 1249, granted by *Angus filii Donaldi in terras mea de Kentyr,* among the witnesses are *Farchardo filio Nigelli de Buyt* and *Duncano fratre suo.* We find in the above genealogy Nicail or Nigelli and Ferchar and Duncan, and though not given in the said order, it seems to refer to them. "A circumstance of frequent occurrence among chroniclers was to name a grandson as the son of a grandfather, and in direct pedigrees exclude brothers, uncles, and cousins that may have been at one time chiefs of the family."—(Hugh Macdonald's Papers.)

In a charter of *Angus filii Donaldi* to the Abbey of Paisley, without date, two of the witnesses are *Alexandro fratre meo* and *Ferchard de Buit.*

In 1292, by an ordinance of King John Baliol we find *T'ra Lochmani MacKilcoli MacErewar T'ra Eneg MacErewar T'ra. . . . Insula de Boot.* That is, the lands of Laumun, son of Malcolm, son of Ferchar, the lands of Angus, son of Ferchar, the lands. . . . Island of Bute.—(Act Parl. Scot., Vol. I.)

A part of Bute is still called Kerry Lamont.

From these references, we see the close connection of the Lamonts with the island of Bute, which, by fair inference, may be considered at that time as a part of their possessions.

We are much indebted to the monks of Paisley and to English writers for any vestiges preserved of the names and places of this family.

The cabinet of John Baliol appeared to have known as little of Argyle and its people as our present map makers do of the interior of New Guinea.

Before I proceed to describe the grants of the Lamont family, I will note some of the blunders committed by the early writers of Scottish history.

The *Parliament* assembled by John Baliol at Scone on the ninth day of February, 1292, was probably the first of the national councils of Scotland which bore that *name.* (Cosmo Innes' Scotland in the Middle Ages, chap. vii.) At that Parliament the following Act was passed:—

PLACITA IN PARLIMENTIS DOMINI REGIS JOHANNIS.

Apud Schonam x., Die Februarii, A.D. mccxcii.

Memorandđ ꝗ breue subscʳptū tᵃ dtiū fuit Dn̄o Alex̃o Ergadia die cōtento in breui.

Joh̄s die gr̃a Rex Scocꝰ Alex̃o de Ergadia dilecto ⁊ fideli suo ⁊ baŧŧ suis de Lochaue salm̃ Mandamꝰ voƀ ⁊ ꝓcipimꝰ quatinus visis lit͛is ⁊ sine dilacc͠one sūmoniri faciatis angusiū fiŧ Douenaldi militem Lawemundū Mc Greghere ⁊ Anneesiu fiŧ Duncani Mc Gregere ꝗ cet͛is negociis ꝓ͛tmissis sint modis om̃ibꝫ ad nos ad quindenā post pascha ꝑxīo futurū vbicūqꝫ fu͛imꝰ in Scocꝰ ad faciendū noƀ homag~ ⁊ alia q de jure fac͛e tenentꝰ ⁊ hoc mullatenꝰ omittant nec omittatis. Teste me ip̃o Apud Dunde, xxiiij., die februar~ ann̄. r̃. n̄. primo.—(Acta. Parl. Scot., Vol. I., pp. 89-92.)

This Scots Act of Parliament was transcribed and edited by our royal historiographer, Thomas Thomson, and afterwards Cosmo Innes supplied the Index to same. In referring to this Act, the Index says: "Alexander of Argyle ordered to summon Angus Fitz Dovenald, Lawemund, M'Greghere and Anneesius M'Gregor, the son of Duncan M'Greghere, to do homage to King John."

In tracing the history of Clan MacGregor, Cosmo Innes says: "The sheriffdom of Lorn or Argyle, erected by King John Baliol in 1292, included the lands of John of Glenewry. This John of Glenewry is supposed to have been of the same surname of MacGregor." (Hist. Clan Gregor, p. 6.) He goes further and says, "In 1296, John of Glenurchy, who is ranked among the nobles of Scotland, was taken by Edward I. at the battle of Dunbar, and afterwards had his lands restored to him on condition of serving that king in his wars with France. In 1292, King John Baliol ordered Alexander of Argyle and his bailies of Lochawe to summon Sir Angus, the son of Donald, Lawmund, MacGreghere, and Annessius Duncanson M'Gregere, to come to him wheresoever he might be in Scotland, within fifteen days after next Easter, to do homage." (Origines Par. Scot.—Parish of Glenorchy.) Donald Gregory commits the same mistake in tracing the history of Clan Gregor. He says, "In 1293, John Baliol, then king of Scotland, issued a mandate to Alexander de Ergadia (Lord of Lorn) and to the Bailies of Lochawe, charging them to summon Sir Angus Macdonald, knight, Lawmund Macgregor, and Angus, son of Duncan Macgregor, to appear in the royal presence on a specified day, to do homage and various other things obligatory on them." (Clan Macgregor, by Donald Gregory. Part I., p. 9. 4to., Edin., 1831.)

Fortunately we are not dependent on this copy alone, as there is another version of the same in Rymer's Foedera, which gives the correct names. I will now quote this version, and also an English translation, and afterwards add some remarks.

"Summonitis per Johannem Regem Scotiae pro homagio sibi faciende.

Johannes, Die gratia Rex Scotiae, Alexandro de Ergadia, dilecto et fideli suo et ballivis suis de Lothave salutem.

Mandamus vobis et praecipemus quatinus, visis litteris et sine dilatione summonire faciatis Angusium filium Donealdi militem Lowemandum MacEregher, et Aunsesium filium Duncani MacErgere, Quod caeteris negotiis praetermisis, sint modis omnibus ad nos, ad quindenam post Pasche proximo futurum ubicunque fuerimus in Scotia ad faciendum nobis homagium et alia quae jure facere tenetur, et hoc nullatenus omittant nec omittatio.

Teste meipso apud Dunde vicisimo primo die Februarii, anno regni notri primo." (Rymer's Foedera, Vol. II., page 786.)

Literal translation.

"Summons of warning by King John of Scotland, for homage to be done to him.

John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, to Alexander of Argyle, his well beloved and faithful subject, and to his vassals of Lochawe, sendeth greeting.

We command and direct by these presents, that without any delay whatever, you cause summons of warning be served on Sir Angus son of Donald, Lawmund son of Ereghere, and Angus son of Duncan, the son of Eregere.

As to other matters that in any way pertain to us, they may be put off till the fifteenth day after Easter, when we shall be in Scotland, that homage may be done us, and other things which by law they are bound to do. And this they may not on any account neglect, nor may you.

Witness our hand at Dunde this the twenty-first day of February, in the first year of our reign."

The homage that King John demanded does not seem to have been given. Alexander of Lorn was married to a daughter of the Red Comyn, and the Comyns and Baliols being closely related Alexander consequently was in the Baliol interest, since the latter aspired to the kingship. The bailies or vassals of the king at Lochawe seem to have been the Macnaughtens and MacGregors (at least the Macnaughtens, of which more afterwards) who were in possession and bordering on the upper parts of Lochawe at this period.

The parties to be summoned by Alexander and his allies were fully as powerful as Alexander himself. Sir Angus, son of Donald, was at this time in possession of the lower half of Kintyre and all the islands from Islay to Ardnamurchan.

The other parties were the descendants of Ferchar, viz., Lawmund and Angus—Lawmund possessed the district of Cowal, and Angus, his uncle, the eastern half of Argyle proper. These three families at first seem to have kept aloof from the Baliol and Bruce factions. It was with the object of inducing them to do homage that Baliol's Parliament sent the summons, but this they disregarded, and to compel them was more than Alexander or his allies could do.

We have seen that Baliol's Parliament at first assembled at Scone on the ninth or tenth day of February, 1292, and sent a brief to Alexander of Argyle to command these families to come and do homage to King John, and, as there was no immediate submission made, Parliament arbitrarily divided Argyle into three parts, and appointed the Earl of Ross governor over North Argyle, Alexander of Lorn over Argyle proper, and the Steward of Scotland over Kintyre and Cowal, with a host of place-hunters in their train. It is evident that neither the Macdonalds nor the Lamonts paid any regard to these arrangements, consequently, on twenty-fourth February of same year, King John's ire was roused, and he issued a second warning from Dundee.

Of the sub-divisions of Argyle, and its invasion by these strangers, I will have occasion to refer in the sequel.

I now proceed to name the gifts of the Lamonts to the Abbey of Paisley, which will clearly show that the donors were the descendants of *Ferchar* and not of *Gregor.*[*]

The first gifts of this family to the monks of Paisley were bestowed between the years 1230 and 1246, and run thus—

GIFTS TO KILINAN, KILMOR, AND KILMUN.

"Duncan, son of Ferchar, and Laumun, son of Malcolm, grandson of said Duncan, pray for eternal salvation in the Lord to all the sons of the holy mother Church—to those living at present as well as to those in time to come.

Know that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter confirmed to God, and to Saint James, and to Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, the Church of Kilinan for pure and perpetual charity, with all its just pertinents, together with every right which has appertained to us in the exercise of our patronage. We have given them also the penny land of Kilmore, which lies above Lochgilp, with the Chapel of Saint Mary built on said land. Further, we have conferred and granted to the aforesaid for motives of piety those three half-penny lands which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun, with the fishings and all others, their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the Church of Kilmun in respect of patronage. To be held and possessed freely and peaceably, as they hold and possess other charitable bequests given to them freely and peaceably.

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[*] Appendix C.

These being witnesses, Lord Walter, son of Alan, Justiciary seneschal of Scotland; Lord Malcolm, son of the Count of Lennox; Lord Simon Fleming; Lord Hugh, his brother; Luke, chaplain of Paisley; Roger, seneschal of Paisley; Nachten, rector of the Church of Kilinan; Roger, vicar of Kilbarchan; Alexander, of Smallham; William, of Cadiou; John, of Perthic; and many others." (Register, Monas de Passelet, p. 132.)

We thus see the possessions of Duncan the son of Ferchar, and of Lamun his grandson, extended from Lochgilp to Kilmun. These grants at first were jointly conferred, but afterwards the donors acted separately, and finally they branched into two distinct families.

The family of Angus, the son of Duncan, retained the lands beyond Lochfyne, and that of Lamont those of Cowal, and perhaps a part of Bute.

Angus, the son of Duncan, confirmed the grants of Kilmore at Paisley on the day of March succeeding the discovery of the holy cross in the year of grace 1270, and in the same year he grants a *deed* of *sasine* and *possession* on the Wednesday immediately following the translation of Saint Thomas the martyr. In the confirmation of Kilmore, Angus refers to the original grants by saying, "These things being excepted which belong to the foresaid Laumun or his heirs or may belong to them." (Ibid, pp. 133-137.)

Malcolm, son and heir of Laumun, gave, granted, and confirmed to the monks of Paisley the halfpenny lands in connection with the church of Kilinan for pure and perpetual alms and for the salvation of the souls of his forefathers. This charter was granted at Paisley on the day of Sabbath, on the morrow of Saint Mary Magdalene, in the year of grace 1295. (Ibid, p. 138.)

In a fac-simile of original charter in possession of the late

Cosmo Innes, it is said, " About the year 1290, John, the son of Lagman, the son of Gilcom (Malcolm) M'Ferchar, granted in heritage to Sir Colin Kambel his twopenny lands of Kamesnemuchlach and Hacheteyhewyn for payment of the king's forensic service, and his aid and suit at John's Court of Ardrorkyneryke three times in the year, and finding for him at his gatherings of Ergyle two men with their victuals, as was customary in the country." (Origines, Par., Scot, Vol. I., Kilfinan parish.)

This charter seems to be of a doubtful character, and if genuine must have been of a much later date, because—*First.* At the date given there was no king in Scotland to do him forensic service. *Second.* Malcolm, who, in 1295, granted lands to the church of Kilinan, was Lamont's son and heir. *Third.* Malmory, the other son of Lamont, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1306. But to John there is no reference save in this document. *Fourth.* It seems probable that this transaction was even of a much later date. Colin appears to have been the first Cambel who possessed lands in Argyle, which were termed Lauchaw and Ardskodnische, conferred about the latter years of Robert Bruce. (Robertson's Index, p. 26.) *Fifth.* There being no trace of a John Lamont at this era I think it is more probable that this charter was granted to a grandson of said Colin. We read that Colin, the son of Nigel, died in 1340, his heir and successor was Sir Archibald Campbell, who died in 1372. He married the daughter of Sir John Lamont, by whom he had two sons and daughters. His heir and successor was Sir Colin, commonly called *Cailean Iongantach,* or Wonderful Colin, from his schemes, fancies, and good fortune. (Argyle Papers.) For further particulars of the early history of the Lamonts, see Part IV., chap. 9, and extracts from the chartulary of Paisley in the Appendix.

FOURTH.—THE FAMILY OF MACNAUGHTAN.

Dr. Skene says: "This clan came from Strathtay, and were descended from the tribe of Moray, and *probably* they obtained the lands from Alexander II. on the conquest of Argyle in 1221, and *must* as *Crown vassals* have formed a part of the army to whom the forfeited lands were originally given." (History of Highlanders, Vol., p. 202.)

I have already disposed of his fable of the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II. His other assertion that this clan came from Strathtay is without proof. When both these props are taken away the story collapses.

The lands of the MacNaughtans, as already described, bordered on the south by those of Angus the son of Duncan, son of Ferchar, extended northward to Fraochelan, and eastward to Glenara, Glenshira, and Glenfyne.

The MS. of 1450 traces this clan to Erc, the founder of the Dalriadic dynasty in Argyle.

Passing over that long vista, and coming to the era of Alexander III., we learn that "On a small island or peninsula at the north end of Lochawe stand the ruins of the Castle of Fraoch-Elan, a stronghold of the Macnaughtans."

In the year 1267, King Alexander III. granted to Gillecrist MacNaughtan and his heirs, the keeping of his castle and island of Frechelan, so that they should cause it to be built and repair it at the king's expense as often as needful, and keep it safely for the king's necessity, and that as often as he should come to it, the castle, well furnished (*honeste paratum*), should be delivered to him to lodge and dwell there at his pleasure.—(Origines Par. Scot., Vol. I., p. 145. Glenorchy.)

In early times Gillecrist seems to have been the patronymic of this clan. In the ordinance of King John Baliol in 1292, the lands of John MacGilcrist are named.—(Scots Acts Parl., Vol. I., p. 91.)

And in 1403, Margaret, the daughter of Gyllecrist, resigned to Colin Cambel *(Cailean Iongantach)*, Lord of Lochaw, her overlord, the sixth part of the lands of Glenserw, and of other lands which heritably belonged to her, and which had *formerly belonged to Alexander MacNeachtan*, lord of the same lands.—(Origines Par. Scot., Vol. I., p. 86. Parish of Inveraray.)

On the 16th August, 1361, at the church of St. Martin, in Ardscodinis (Kilmartin), Cristina, the daughter and heiress of the deceased Dugald of Craginis, sold to her kinsman Colin Cambel, the son and heir of Gillaspic Cambel, Lord of Lochaw, her part of the barony of the deceased *Alexander MacNachtane*, which belonged to her by heritage, for a certain sum of money and cowes paid to her beforehand in her very great necessity, binding herself and heirs, if they should contravene this sale, to pay to the said Colin or his heirs on one day in the castle of Ynischonnell, three hundred marks sterling upon a red mantle in name of penalty, or to be considered infamous and perjured. —(Origines Par. Scot., Vol. I., p. 96. Craignish.)

Besides Fraochelan, the other strongholds of the MacNaughtans were the castles of Douloch in Glenshira, and probably Duncuaich, and the more modern castle of Dunderave on Lochfyneside.

FIFTH.—THE FAMILY OF MACGREGOR.

Of this family Dr. Skene says : "It is *probable* that Glenorchy was given to the chief of the MacGregors, at the time of the conquest a *vassal* of the Earl of Ross."—(History of Highlanders, Vol. II., pp. 244–5.)

Where is the probability of this gift, and where is the proof that MacGregor was a vassal of the Earl of Ross ?

As already described, the lands of the MacGregors embraced Glenstray, Glenorchy, and Glenlochy. These lands were lying contiguous to those of the royal race of Lorn.

The MacGregors have a tradition that they are descended from Kenneth MacAlpin, the last of the Daldriadic race who reigned there. Their motto is—"*'S Rioghail ma dhream,*" "Royal is my race."

The MS. of 1450 also traces them to this source, and their genealogy in the book of Dean MacGregor of Lismore, of 1512, further asserts this. I give the original rendering, with Dr. Maclauchlan's English translation.

> "Eone makphadrick vec voylchollum v^c eoin doif vec eone v^c gregor v^c eone v^c weillchollum vec conquhy veg v^c conquhy a strwlee v^c illelane v^c ey urquhaych v^c kennane vec alpen agis in kennansen bee ardree albin gi daywin ansi norsin agis in toene soo an in dwn deyk von kennan so id dowirt me—agis duncha deyroclych m^c dowle v^c oyne reywych di skreyre so a lowrow schenchyth nyn reig agis roo Zenyth anno d^{ni} millesimo quin^{mo} duodecimo." (Page 126.)

Translation.

> "John, son of Patrick, son of Malcolm, son of John the black, son of Gregor, son of John, son of Malcolm, son of Duncan the little, son of Duncan from Srulee, son of Gilelan, son of Hugh of Urchy, son of Kenneth, son of Alpin; and this Kenneth was head king of Scotland in truth at the time, and this John is the eleventh man from Kenneth, of whom I spoke. And Duncan, the servitor, son of Dugald, son of John the grizzled, wrote this from the books of the genealogists of the kings, and it was done in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twelve."

In the ordinance of King John Baliol of 1292, the lands of John of Glenurwy are spoken of. (Act Parl. Scot., Vol. I., page 91.

It appears that the lands of the MacGregors in after years passed to the Campbells in the female line. A charter of David II. is on record to Margaret Glenurchy and to John Campbell, her spouse, of the lands of Glenurchy. (Robertson's Index.)

Donald Gregory in his "Inquiry of the Early History of Clan MacGregor," says: "An early if not the original seat of the Clan Gregor, a family which is generally allowed to be one of the most ancient and renowned of the Highland tribes, was the Valley of Glenurchy, in the district of Lorn. From Glenurchy accordingly they took their style for many generations."

It appears that John of Glenurchy, the chief probably of the family, was made prisoner by King Edward of England at the battle of Dunbar, anno 1296; and that he had afterwards his lands and possessions restored by order of that monarch on condition of going to France to serve him in his wars in that kingdom.

In the public instruments connected with the fate of those of the Scottish leaders captured at Dunbar, John de Glenurchy is ranked as one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, a proof that his possessions holding of the Crown were far from inconsiderable. This individual had, as would seem, died in France; for his name does not appear in any of the Transactions of the period. He left a daughter and heiress, Margaret, who carried the barony of Glenurchy to her husband, John, son of Sir Neil Campbell of Lochawe, by Lady Mary Bruce, sister of King Robert.

This John Campbell, on whose mother her royal brother had conferred the Earldom of Athole, became, in her right, Earl of Athole. He fell in the battle of Halidon in 1333, leaving issue by his wife, a child, who survived a few years. On the death of the child the barony of Glenurchy appears to have returned to the family of MacGregor, for there is undoubted evidence of the death, so late as 1390, of John MacGregor of Glenurchy."—(Part I., pp. 5-7. 4to. Edin., 1831.)

EXTENT OF THE RULE OF THE FIVE OLD FAMILIES OF ARGYLE.

According to the evidence adduced we thus observe that those *Five Families* held sway over *all* Argyle at the death of Alexander III.

THE CAUSES OF THEIR FALL AND DECAY.

The first disturbing element among the old families of Argyle was the Act of Parliament of King John Baliol of 1292, dividing this district into three parts and appointing governors and their attendants over them.

I. The Earl of Ross was appointed over North Ardgail, which embraced all the islands from Rum to Lewes, and on the mainland from Moidart to Glenelg. The possessors of these lands are not described in this Act, but we know that Roderick, the son of Reginald, and his descendants at this time possessed that part of the mainland and the inner Hebrides. (Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 27.)

II. Alexander of Lorn was appointed governor over Argyle proper. Several strangers appear in his train, among them are Radi de Dunde and Colini Cambel.

III. James, the Steward of Scotland, was appointed governor over the lands of Cowal and Kentyr, but none of the strangers named in this Act held lands there before or afterwards.

But the beginning of the end was the accession of King Robert Bruce to power, who commenced to seize upon their lands and divide them without let or hindrance among his friends and followers.

The other principal clans in Argyle were the Campbells, Maclachlans, M'Leans, M'Ewans, M'Niells, M'Phies, M'Kinnons, M'Quarries and M'Callums.

The Campbells and the M'Lachlans made their appearance during the troubles of the kingdom between the death of Alexander III. and the accession of Bruce to the throne. All the others are of a later date.

THE CAMPBELLS.

There is no Highland family whose history is more conflicting than that of the Campbells of Argyle. Their historical lore has been so interwoven with genealogical and mythical traditions that it is somewhat difficult to separate facts from what are merely popular fictions.

In an octavo volume of 139 pages, published in 1871 by John Tweed, of Glasgow, the Campbells of Argyle and their collateral branches are traced downwards from the year of our Lord 420, till 1871, and in a Gaelic genealogical MS. in possession of the Highland Society of Scotland, written about the year 1550, this family trace back their pedigree from Gilleaspic MacCailin to the progenitor of the human race. (Iona Club Trans., Vol. I., p. 4.)

The present Duke of Argyle, in his book "Scotland as it was and as it is" (Edinburgh, 1887), claims the Cambels to be of the purest Celtic race which sprung from the Dalriadic colony of Scots who arrived from Ireland in the sixth century, and that they were of unbounded patriotism in support of national independence. He says, "From the moment that the standard of national independence was raised by Bruce, he had no more devoted adherents than among the purest Celts. Among the earliest of his followers, and among the most constant, was the purely Celtic family from which I am descended—a family of Scoto-Irish origin—that is to say, belonging to that Celtic colony from Ireland which founded the Dalriadic kingdom, and to whom the name of Scots originally and exclusively belonged. That portion of the Celtic race must have had in its character and development something which made it predominant, so that its name came to be that of the whole united monarchy. Probably all its chiefs had a memory and traditions that predisposed them to fight for that monarchy as their own. Certain it is that Sir Nigel Cambel fought with and for the Bruce in all his battles from Methven Bridge to Bannockburn, and was finally rewarded by the hand of the Lady Marjory, sister to the heroic king who achieved the final independence of his country." (Vol. I., pp. 43-4.)

Sir Neil, after all his devotion to Bruce, does not appear to have received any grants of land in Argyle.

In Robertson's Index of Charters by King Robert I., which extends from 1309 to 1329, these rolls are distinguished, according to age, with letters from A to N. There are two charters granted among the rolls marked N. No. 11 in this roll is described, "Carta to Sir Neil Campbell and Mary (Margory), his spouse, sister to the king, and John their son, all the lands quhilk were David's, Earl of Athol" (page 26.) The other appears to be the first charter of lands given to the Cambels in Argyle. It was conferred on Colin, son of Sir Neil by first marriage. In the same roll it is marked No. 18, "*Carta Colini, fil Nigelli Campbell* of the lands of Lauchaw and Ardskodnische." (Page 26.)

The Duke, in his work, refers to this charter, saying: "The king had given to Sir Neil his own sister, Lady Marjory, in marriage, and although the young knight who succeeded to the barony of Lochow (?) was not his own nephew, he was the eldest son of his own friend, and stepson of his sister. The deed begins: 'Robert, by the grace of God, king of Scots, to his beloved and faithful Colin, son of Neil Cambel, knight, &c.'" (Vol. I., p. 73.)

The Duke seems to think that this charter to Colin is not explicit enough to show their prior possession of Argyle, and refers to a subsequent charter *dressed up by the Seanachies.* He says: "This comes out more strikingly in a later charter granted by David II., son and successor of Robert the Bruce, to another member of the Cambel family in 1368. In this document we have an express reference to rights which had been acquired by the Celtic chiefs, under their own system, and by their own preeminence among the people: for this charter confirms and secures to Gillespic Cambel all the liberties and customs which had belonged to a progenitor who is designated by his Celtic patronymic of Duncan MacDuine. Now this Duncan appears to have flourished about 150 years earlier, in the reign of Alexander II., and he is expressly referred to as having been there already in possession of all the liberties and customs of the barony of Lochow, as well as of others not specified. But this is not all—it is not even the most significant part of the reference. For in the use in a formal charter of the name of MacDuine, we have clear historic evidence of the truth of much older traditions. We are carried back to times when this patronymic of MacDuine must have arisen among the Dalriadic Celts, who were a conquering and colonising colony from the Scots of Ireland in the period between the fifth and seventh centuries."—(Vol. I., pp. 74-5.)

It is marvellous—if the Campbells were in possession of Argyle since the sixth century—how completely they allowed their light to be hid under a bushel till the troubles that took place after the death of Alexander III., while the old families of Argyle already described are often on record previous to that period.

Dr. Skene, in his History of the Highlanders says: "The first notice of the MacCailean Mor branch is Gillespic Cambel, who witnesses a charter of erection of burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1266. There is the strongest reason to think that he was heritable sheriff of the sheriffdom of Argyle, which had been erected by Alexander II. in 1221."—(Vol. II., p. 282.) Unfortunately there is not the remotest evidence of the erection of sheriff or sheriffdom at that date in Argyle.—(See Palgrave's Illustrations of the Hist. of Scot. Intro. 28-29; and Hailes' Annals, Vol. I., pp. 313-14.)

Dr. Skene, however, does not trace the Campbells from Newburgh in Aberdeenshire, but from those in the western parts of Inverness-shire. Of this he says: "It is certain, however, that the situation of the MacArthur branch at this time was different from that of the heritable sheriff, for we find them in possession of a very extensive district in the Earldom of Garmoran, the original seat of the Campbells." (Vol. II., p. 282.) There is an incongruity in Dr. Skene's description of the rise of Clan Campbell. In his summary of the alleged effects of the conquest of Argyle in 1221, he says, "The remainder of the great district of Argyle was now held by the Crown. The upper half of Cowal was given to a Campbell." (History of the Highlanders of Scotland, Vol. II., p. 48.) Yet at page 282 of same volume he tells us that the Campbells did not possess any heritable right to property in Argyleshire until the reign of Robert Bruce.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE CAMPBELLS IN ARGYLESHIRE.

However unpalatable it may be to the dignity of the Campbells and in opposition to the veracity of their Seanachies, there is sufficient evidence to show that the Campbells were not originally natives of the Western Highlands, but a family of adventurers that cropped up in the east of Scotland after the death of King Alexander III. in 1285.

I shall briefly note the beginning of each member of this illustrious family as far as may be gleaned from the Annals of that period.

FIRST.—ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

Dr. Skene traces the ancestors of the Clan Campbell, not from Gillespic of Newburgh of 1266, but from Arthur of Garmoran. He says: "It is certain that the situation of the MacArthur branch at that time was different, for we find them in possession of a very extensive district in the Earldom of Garmoran—the original seat of the Campbells."—(History of the Highlanders, Vol. II., page 282.) In proof of this he says: "Allan MacRory obtained a grant of the lordship of Garmoran about 1275, his feudal heir was his daughter Christina, and her first act of possession is a charter to "*Arthuro Campbell filio Domini Arthuro militis de terra de Muddeward Ariseg et Morderer et insules de Egg et Rumme et pertenari.*" There seems to be no date to this charter of Christina, but it may be observed that Allan, her father, was at the Convention at Scone in 1284, consequently this charter to Arthur would not likely be earlier than 1292. Gregory in fact indicates that it was of a later date. He refers to a charter by Christina, daughter of Allan, to Arthur, son of Sir Arthur Campbell, knight, early in the fourteenth century, of the lands of Moidart, &c."—(History, p. 35, f.n.) It does not appear for what period, as she was in possession of these lands in 1309, and gave a large portion of them to Roderick her brother. (Origines Par. Scot. Arisaig.) The charter does not prove that Campbell had any lands there prior to this gift, and this charter of Christina to Arthur does not seem to have been ratified, as we hear no more of Arthur Campbell, whereas these lands were confirmed on several occasions afterwards to her family and friends. "Arthur Campbell, king's tenant in Perthshire, did fealty to Edward I. of England, anno 1296."—(Prynne III., p. 656.)

Robert the Bruce, about the year 1309, granted a charter of these lands to "*Roderici filii Alani* of Modworthe and Knodworthe," &c.

David II., in the fifteenth year of his reign, gave a charter to "Rannald of the isles of Ywest, Barra, Egghee, et Rune, ane part of the lands of Garrow, Morwarne, Mudworthe, Mordhowar, Aresayis, Cundewithe."—(Robertson's Index of Charters, p. 48.)

Robert II., in the second year of his reign, granted a charter to "Johanni del Yle," of all the lands which belonged to "Alani filii Roderici (the father of Christina), viz., the lands of Modoworth, Arassag, Moreobyr, Knodworte, Ouiste, Barrech, Rume, Eggeh et Heryte."—(Ibid.)

It is most probable that Arthur Campbell went there first in the train of the Earl of Ross, who was appointed in 1292 by King John Baliol, Vice-Comitatis or Governor over Nort Argail, which embraced the lands of Christina. The Act runs thus:

COMES DE ROS.

"Dn̄s Rex ꝑ pace ⁊ stabilitate Regni sui obseruand statuit ⁊ ordinauit ꝗ de t᷑ris subscʾptif sient [vic°] videtȝ . . . De t᷑ra comit∽ de Ros in Nort Argail. Terra de Glenc Terra Reg° de Skey ⁊ Lodoux Octo dauaux de t᷑ra . . . . Egge ⁊ Rūme Guiste ⁊ Barrich cū minetif Insuꝉ. ⁊ vocet∽ vic de Skey."—(Acta. Parl. Scot., Vol. I., p. 91.)

It is said that the MacArthur Campbell of Strachur is the oldest cadet of the family of Argyle, and according to precedent is entitled to enter into court before the chief of Inveraray. Genealogists aver that the antiquity of this family is unknown. Their adage is—

Cnuic is sluic is Ailpeanaich,
Ach cuine thainig Arturaich.

In the year 1368, King David II. confirmed the lands of Strachore to Gyllespyk Cambell. In 1374, the lands of Strachur were resigned by Ewar Campbell and granted by King Robert II. to Arthur Campbell, his son.—(Or. Par. Scot.) I presume this Arthur Campbell of Strachur is the person from whom the MacArthurs of Upper Cowal derive their patronymic, as they were in possession of this district long before the Campbells of Argyle got possession of Inveraray. They would, therefore, have a prior claim to honour in this locality.

SECOND.—THOMAS CAMPBELL.

In 1292, by an ordinance of King John Baliol, James Steward, the Seneschel of Scotland, was appointed Vice-Comitatis or Governor over the lands of Bute, Cowal, and Kintyre.

SEÑ SCOC̆

"De ꝰtris de kentẏr cū oĩbʒ tenentibʒ ꝰtras in ead T'ra Lochmani Mc Kilcolī Mc Erewer T'ra Eneg.° Mc Erewar ꝰtra de . . . . Insula de Boot T'ra dñi Thom̃ Cambel ⁊ T'ra Dunkani Duf Et vocetꝰ vic∽ kentẏr."—(Acta. Parl. Scot., Vol. I., p. 91.)

I presume that Duncan Duf and Thom Cambel are reversed here—that Duncan Duf was the minor Earl of Fife, and that Thom Cambel merely went there in the train of the steward as baillie. Duncan Duf or M'Duff, Earl of Fife, was a minor in 1292-3. (Haile's Annals, Vol. I., p. 248.) At all events neither Duf nor Cambel held any lands there. We find Cambel, four years later, stripped of his title of Dominus, and he appears simply as Thomas Cambel, tenant of the king in Perthshire, swearing fealty to Edward I. (Acta. Parl. Scot, Vol. I. p. 597, f.n.) Twelve years later we find him raised to the tail of the

Scottish barons. In a letter from the Scottish nobles to Philip, king of France, regarding Robert de Bruce, of date 16th March, 1308-9, among the Scottish magnates are Alexander de Ergadia (MacDougall of Lorn) and Dovenaldus de Yle (Macdonald of the Isles); then follow the barons, and among those of Ergadia et Ynche-gallye (Argyle and the Hebrides) are Thom Cambel and Gillaspy M'Lachlan, but neither of their names are engrossed on said letter, being merely appended by a ribbon or tag to the parchment. (Acta. Parl. Scot, Vol. I.)

THIRD.—COLIN CAMBEL.

In the contest between Baliol and Bruce for the Scottish throne, before King Edward I. at Berwick in 1292, the only one of the forty magnates without any title to land who supported Bruce was Colinus Cambel. (Rymer's Foedera, Vol. II., pp. 766-7.)

In that same year Alexander de Ergadia was appointed Vice-Comitatis or Governor over the lands of Mid Argyle. Amongst the names mentioned in that ordinance without a title to land is *Colini Cambel et vocet vic de.* This is likely to have been his first appearance in Argyle with the other interlopers named. The deed runs:

ALEXR̃ DE ARGAD.

"De t͛ris Kinnel Bathyn. Ardenmurich Bothelue. T'ra Alex̃i de Argad T'ra Joh̃ de Glenurwy Terra Giłb̃i Mc . . . . . T'ra Malcolmi Mc Iuẏr. Terra Dugałł de Cragins. T'ra Joh̃ Mc Gilc'st. T'ra magr̃i Rađi de Dunde. T'ra Gileskel Mc lachl . . . . . T'ra comit∽ de Meneteth de Knapedal T'ra Anegꝰ fil Douenalđ Insulaꝝ ⁊ Colini Cambel Et vocetꝰ vic∽ de."—(Acta. Parl. Scot., Vol. I., p. 91.)

FOURTH.—DUNCAN CAMBEL.

In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Edward I. (1296), we find a Duncan Cambel along with Malcolm, brother of Alexander MacDougall of Argyle, swearing submission and fealty to Edward I. "*Maucolm de Ergad, et Duncan Cambel des Illes.*" (Sir F. Palgrave's Illustrations, pp. 156-7.)

This little is only known of the history of Duncan. It is probable he was one of the baillies sent to the West Highlands to keep order by Edward I.

FIFTH.—DUGALD CAMPBELL.

Dugald Campbell was governor of Dumbarton Castle during these troublous times. In 1313, Robert the Bruce granted him extensive lands in the parishes of Kilchattan, Kilninver, and Kilbrandon in Lorn, for the service of a ship of twenty-six oars, furnished with men and victuals, for the king's army. (Origines Par. Scot, Vol I., pp. 101-106.

SIXTH.—NICHOL, NEEL, NEL, OR NIGEL CAMBEL.

In 1296, Nichol or Neel Cambel, the founder of the fortune of the house of Argyle, is appointed by King Edward I. his baillie over the lands from Lochfyne to Kilmartin. "*Eodam modo mand est universis et singul baronibus et fedilibus R. de Ergad. Nichol Cambel ballivo R. de Leghor et Ardeoscothyn.* (Rotuli Scotia.) Leghor is evidently a corruption of Lochgair, Ardskodnish is an old term for the district of Kilmartin; in olden times there was a close connection between both places, "two fourths of the parsonage and vicarage of the chapel of Kilbride at Lochgairside were a part of the patrimony of the parsonage of Kilmartin." (Origines Par. Scot, Kilmartin.)

In 1302 we find Nigellus Cambel one of those appointed by King Edward for the defence of Scotland. "*Protectiones de Scotia.*" (Rotuli Scotia.)

Among the magnates in the interest of Edward at the siege of Stirling in 1304 is "Neel Cambel, Chevalier." (Sir F. Palgrave's Illustrations, p. 274.)

After this we find him petitioning King Edward for certain lands or preferments in Scotland, which the king granted to him. "*Le quele terra le Roi dona a Mons Nel Cambel.*" (Ib., p. 312.)

And last of all, we find him changing sides to Bruce, and marrying his sister Marjory, which was the means of his fortune and of that of his family.

PART FOURTH.

THE AGE AND ORIGIN OF OSSIANIC POETRY.

PART FOURTH.

OSSIAN'S POEMS.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

SINCE the beginning of the present century the habits and modes of thinking of the Highlanders of Scotland have undergone radical changes. The requirements of the people previously were easily satisfied. The resources of the country supplied all their wants in food, clothing, and thought. Till that period English literature was little known among the common people, and Gaelic publications were confined to a few religious books and a little poetry. But though thus isolated from outside knowledge and its influence, they were always a thoughtful and meditative people. Besides their traditions, there was such a variety of ideas associated with the construction and productions of the sea and land surrounding them, and also in the changes of seasons and climate, that to know and name them all of necessity made the Highlanders possess a wide degree of intelligence.

Before the era of cheap literature their pastime during the winter evenings was the rehearsing of heroic tales and songs. These gifts were confined to a few, who were generally found in every district, to whom the great body of the people flocked with as much avidity as town people do to their theatres and concerts. The *tale teller* by frequently repeating his story became a perfect orator, both in his language and mode of delivery. The *singer* by long practice charmed the people by his plaintive or rousing intonation suited to the nature of the theme.

Among the last of the favourite tales that lingered in the Southern Highlands till a late date, was that of "Conal Gulban," and of the songs, were the " Lay of Diarmid," and the " Combat at Essaroy."

James Macpherson's " Ossian," and Dr. John Smith's " Sean Dana " were often heard of in the Highlands during the early Ossianic controversy, but neither of these elaborate works superseded the ballads among the common people. Macpherson's " Ossian " was considered by them so bombastic, hazy, and indefinite, that ordinary Highlanders had no time or patience to wander through its unknown mazes.

Dr. Smith's attempt was much more simple. He admits that he merely tried to patch together the Ossianic ballads floating among the people. His mode was to strike out what he considered spurious, throw in some lines, and even sentences, in order to join episodes together, where otherwise there would have remained a hiatus. In his youth he seems to have been carried away with the grandeur of the heroic tales and ballads, and started his Ossianic writings with preconceived notions of the reality of the origin of these romances. In the first of his letters in the " Highland Society's Report on Ossian's Poems," 1805, he says: " We have but lately emerged from a long night of barbarism ; but previous to that night there existed, as there is much reason to believe, a period of considerable light and refinement."—(Page 72.) And in a note to the poem of "Diarmid," he says: "The dross of the fifteenth century is easily separated from the more precious ore of former ages."—(Sean Dana, p. 99.)

In joining these detached episodes he attempted to fill up the vacancies with sublime ideas which may be summed up in three words—elegance, chivalry, and spirituality. The first was borrowed from the writings ascribed to Saint Columba, of whom he wrote a biography; the second from the Tales and Ballads of the Feine; and the third from the immortality of the soul, said to have been taught by the Druids, on whom also he wrote a treatise.

The following are a few of these missing links culled from "Sean Dana":—

THE PRELUDE TO OSSIAN'S LAMENT OF THE FINGALIANS.

"Ge trom an suain 's gun lua ri'm faicinn,
Tha 'n dreach gun stad an am smuainte."
—(Losga Taura, p. 306.)

"Though you now rest in your peaceful slumbers,
Your image still dwells in my soul,
Though I shall see you no more."
—(Gaelic Antiq., p. 328.)

Of the brave it was said—

"Mairigh tus ars' am filidh o' shean,
Tra dh' fhasas sean gach tur is talla;
Tra Sheideas an osag ro Shellama,
'Sa bhios Taura na fhardaich fhalaimh."
—(Trathuil, p. 222.)

"Thou wilt endure, said the bard of ancient days,
After the moss of time shall grow in Temora;
After the blast of years shall roar in Selma."
—(G. A., p. 275.)

Of the churl it was said—

"—Anaim chrin air t'ais—
Cadail san uaigh gun mhiadh gun chliu,
Do leaba gun uigh, 's do shliochd gun fheoraich,
Aon as aon diu' tha crionadh,
Mar rainich an sge na cairge,
Ta fas, a searga 'sa diothadh,
Gun duine chi na shineas lamh riu."
—(Dan Chlanna Mhuirne, p. 125.)

"Keep off, son of the little soul; what hast thou to do with the arms of heroes? . . . . . . Sleep in the mossy bed in death; thy fame unsung, thy tomb unknown, thy race unnoticed. One by one falls around thy tomb unheeded, as ferns die in the cleft of the rock, where they grow in secret. They grow, they decay, they die: no traveller shall ever say—Behold them!"—(G. A., page 206.)

Garna's blessing of Gaul after their mortal combat—

"Beannachd air laimh an laoich!
Caidlidh mise ri taobh Ghuill;
'S' theid m' anam air neulaibh soilleir
Gu pailliun nan seoid le anam Ghuill."
—(Cath Lui'ne, p. 152.)

"Blessed be the hand that gave the wound!
My body, O Gaul, shall rest with thine,
And our souls shall ride on the same fair-skirted cloud."
—(G. A., page 224.)

Graine's lament for her spouse Diarmid—

"Cha dealraich a mhaduinn gu la bhrath
A dh'fhogras do phramh a shuinn!
Air ioma-ghaoith gabhsa do thuras
A mhic O Duine, gu cuideachd nan Treun'ar."
—(Marbhrann Dhiarmid O Duine, 112-114.)

"Never shall that morning shine that shall dispel our slumber, O Dermid! . . . On eddying winds let thy spirit be borne, son of Duino, to thy fathers; but light let the turf lie over thy beauteous form, and calm in the grave be thy slumbers!"—(G. A., pp. 197-199.)

The appeal of Dargo to the ghosts—

"Tuirlibh O thaibhsa nan nial,
O ionadaibh fial nam flath;
Tuirlibh air glas-sgiathibh 'ur ceo,
Is glacaibh mo dheo gun 'atha."
—(Dan an Deirg, p. 38.)

This stanza is omitted in the English translation of this poem.

Cri min invokes the ghosts for her spouse—

> "A thaibhsa! bho airde nan nial,
> Cromaibh a dh' iaruidh 'ur Deirg,
> Is thigibh oighean an Trein, o'r talla,
> Le ùr-alliunn leibh do'm ghradh."
> —(Dan an Deirg, p 34.)

"Bend, from the clouds, ye fathers of Dargo; bend, and carry him to the place of your rest. And ye maids of Trenmor's airy land, prepare the bright robe of mist for my love."—(G. A., page 149.)

The dying words of Conn, the son of Dargo—

> "Tha m' anam 's air rioluinn a triall,
> Gu ionada fial nan flath;
> Cairibh mo choluinn le'm shinnsear
> An caol-thigh taimh na h-Innse-uaine."
> —(Conn Mac-an Deirg, p. 267.)

"My soul mounts on the meteor's wings to the abode of the brave and the good. With my fathers let my body be placed: let our rest be together in the green isle."—(G. A., pages 305-6.)

Treunmor, the grandfather of Fingal, deified—

> "Thig Treunmor le dh' onuinn ro ghairg,
> Gu'r ruaga na fheirg mar fhoghnan mìn;
> Is marcaichidh Dearg air iomal a sgeith,
> Le greadhnas gu clanna nan sion."
> —(Dan an Deirg, p. 6.)

"Trenmor shall come on Morven's clouds, and scatter with his blast your dim forms. . . . . And thou, Dargo, shalt ride with him on the skirt of his robe, and rejoice with air-borne sons of thy people."—(G. A., page 136.)

The felicity of Treunmor and his retinue—

"Thig leinn, a chri-mora, gun bhron,
Gu talla nan oighean fial
Far am bheil suilmhalda le Treunmor
A' sealg feidh dhoilleir nan nial."
—(Dan an Deirg, p. 12.)

"Come, Crimora, to Morven, come to the hills of woods; where Sulmalda the beauteous love of Trenmore bends the airy bow and pursues the half-viewless deer of the clouds."—(G. A., page 138.)

These sublime ideas, with which Dr. Smith cemented his detached Gaelic ballads, were unfortunately unknown to Highlanders, and though his book was specially written for their instruction it was but scantily appreciated, and it turned out a serious loss to the author. In his later years we find him exclaim—"I could never afterwards think of Gaelic poetry with pleasure and patience, except it had been dead before I was born." (Report on Ossian's Poems, p. 89, 1805.)

Macpherson, on the other hand, never attempted to make his Ossianic poetry popular and intelligible to native Highlanders. He started his career under the auspices of the Edinburgh literati, through having dangled before them translated snatches of Gaelic ballads which charmed them so much that they desired him to collect without delay all that remained of these in the Highlands. This he did, and within three years he presented to the public his collection in English, under the titles of "Fingal, Termora," &c., to which he added Dissertations and Notes, affirming that these poems had been composed by Ossian, a famous bard of the third century, and that they were historical, and had been handed down by tradition and MSS. till he made his journey to the Highlands in search of them in the summer of 1759-60.

The evidences advanced by Macpherson and his abettors of the authenticity of Ossian's poems are so interminable as to make it a hopeless task to examine them without dissecting separately each part of the leading allegations.

This I will endeavour to do as follows, in ten chapters :—

Chapter I.—Gives a sketch of the life and literary labours of James Macpherson.

„ II.—Contrasts the writings of Macpherson and Dr. Smith.

„ III.—Examines the claims of priority of the Gaelic and English Ossian.

„ IV.—Considers the Highland Society's "Report on Ossian's Poems."

„ V.—Gives a specimen of the nomenclature and topography of Ossian's Poems.

„ VI.—Examines his allusions to Roman history in confirmation of the dates of this poetry.

„ VII.—Examines his fallacy of the Order of the Druids—said to have been suppressed by Fingal, the father of Ossian.

„ VIII.—Examines the evidences of the continuity of the Bards from the third century till modern times.

„ IX.—The Glenmasan MS. and the ancient topography in the poem of Deirdri historically considered.

„ X.—The conclusion.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE AND LITERARY LABOURS OF JAMES MACPHERSON.

AS remarked in the explanatory note, it will be necessary at the outset to give an outline of the life and labours of James Macpherson, the reputed translator of Ossian's Poems, and of the reception given these poems by the public. To attempt to examine the evidences of Ossian's Poems without referring to Macpherson would be like the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out.

James Macpherson was born at Ruthven, in the valley of the Spey, Inverness-shire, in the year 1738. He is said to have been descended from an ancient family in the North of Scotland, and was cousin-german to the chief of clan Macpherson. Having received the rudiments of his education in his native place, he was sent to the grammar school of Inverness, where he distinguished himself so much as to induce his relations to have him prosecute his education with a view to the church. In 1752 he was sent to King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards to the University of Edinburgh, where he finished his studies. During the time he studied at the University he hints that he sacrificed in secret to the Muses. His first attempt at poetry was "The Hunter," in 1756, and "The Highlander" followed in 1758. They do not indicate a high poetical talent; yet it is said they met with a ready sale. On leaving college he was for some time schoolmaster in his native district, and subsequently was employed as tutor in the family of Mr. Graham of Balgowan.

In the autumn of 1759, he happened to be at Moffat, and met there John Home, the author of "Douglas," and also Dr. Carlyle. Home, having learned that Macpherson had some pieces of Gaelic poetry in his possession, expressed a desire to see an English translation of them. Macpherson, after some hesitation, consented, and furnished him with two Fragments on "The death of Oscar," which were shown to the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, professor of rhetoric and belles letters in the University of Edinburgh, and to other literary friends, who were all greatly pleased with them. Dr. Blair in particular admired them so much that he requested to have an interview with Macpherson, and prevailed on him to translate several other pieces in his possession. On the whole being finished, they were published in June, 1760, in a little volume under the title of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland."

These "Fragments," or short poems, only whetted the thirst of the Edinburgh literati for deeper draughts from the same fountain. Macpherson was at once urged to undertake a journey to the Highlands to collect all that remained of Gaelic poetry, and a sum of money was collected to defray his expenses. The proposal must have been very alluring to a poor obscure tutor, who seemed likely to exchange the irksome life of a teacher for that of comparative independence and literary fame.

With these bright prospects before him he started that same summer for the Highlands. The districts through which he travelled in the prosecution of his undertaking were chiefly the northern parts of Inverness-shire, the Isle of Skye, and the adjoining islands. On this tour he was accompanied by Ewan Macpherson, teacher, from Badenoch, and a part of the journey by Lachlan Macpherson, Strathmashie, and Captain Morison, of Greenock. All his fellow-travellers were excellent Gaelic scholars. On returning with what he collected of old poetry and tales, found in MS. and copied from oral reciters, he proceeded to Badenoch, his native place, and remained there till January, 1761, engaged in the interval, with the assistance of Lachlan Macpherson and others, in preparing his materials for the publication of "Fingal," and sixteen lesser poems.

He now returns to Edinburgh and writes to the Rev. Mr. Maclaggan, minister of Amulrie, "I have been lucky enough to lay my hands on a pretty complete poem, and truly epic. The antiquity of it is easily ascertained, and it is not only superior to anything in that language, but reckoned not inferior to the more polite performance of other nations in that way. I have some thought of publishing the original, if it will not clog the work too much." Report on Ossian's Poems, p. 155.)

After remaining some time in Edinburgh, preparing for the press, he went to London, and, under the patronage of Lord Bute, he published, early in 1762, in two volumes quarto—

Fingal, an Epic Poem, in six cantos.
Comala, a Dramatic Poem.
The War of Caros.
The War of Imusthona.
The Battle of Lora.
Conluth and Cuthon.
Carthon.
The Death of Cuchullin.
Darthula.
Temora.
Carric Thura.
The Songs of Selma.
Calthon and Colmal.
Lathmon.
Oithona.
Croma.
Berethon.

The literary public, who had welcomed the "Fragments" with admiration, received the volume containing the epic of "Fingal," &c., with but stifled acquiescence.

With the second edition of "Ossian," published in 1763, he added—

Temora, an Epic Poem of eight books.
Cathlin of Clutha.
Sulmalla of Lumon.
Cath Loda, in three cantos.
Oina Moruil.
Colna Dona.

The sullen silence with which "Fingal" was received was broken by a violent controversy on the appearance of "Temora." It seemed preposterous to many that poems such as those produced could be handed down by oral recitations from the third century. The polished manners described, and the allusions to Roman history, engendered suspicion, and a storm of adverse criticism arose, in which Dr. Johnson, John Pinkerton, and Malcolm Laing were the most conspicuous. Ranged on the other side were Dr. Blair, Sir John Sinclair, and Dr. Graham of Aberfoyle.

The dispute extended on every hand. The Irish and Welsh becoming jealous of being eclipsed by this northern luminary, set about ransacking their repositories for old MSS., and they immediately began to claim Macpherson's materials as their own. Notwithstanding these attacks the poems were translated, and admired by men of genius all over Europe. A translation of them by the Italian, Cesarotti, formed almost the whole poetical library of the first Napoleon. Gillespie said, "He had Ossian with him at Lodi and Marengo, and the style of his bulletins—full of faults, but full, too, of martial and poetic fire—is coloured more by Ossian than Corneille and Voltaire."

The more these poems were read and commented upon, the more virulently was their reputed translator assailed. Some maintained they were his own compositions, others that they were imitations of old Irish ballads. The early anti-Ossian critics shewed little qualification to discuss the subject. Their criticisms abounded more in strong assertions, ridicule, and cavillings about the style of language, than in expiscating what connection the epics had with the Gaelic poetry and traditions of the Highlanders of Scotland.

In the year 1773, when Macpherson gave the finishing touch to "Ossian," Dr. Johnson made his famous journey to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. A few choice extracts from his journal would shew his style of criticism. "After the Bards," he says, "were some of my first enquiries. Where the chiefs of the Highlands have found the histories of their descent is difficult to tell, for no Erse genealogy was ever written—the nation was wholly illiterate, neither Bards nor Seanachies could read or write. The Erse language is the rude speech of a barbarous people who had few thoughts to express, and were content, as they conceived grossly, to be grossly understood. Many will startle when they are told that there is not in the world an Erse MS. a hundred years old."

John Pinkerton, who wrote his Enquiry in 1794, in his usual rhodomontade style, slashes right and left at Macpherson and Highlanders in general. His style of criticism, if not edifying, is at least amusing. Referring to Macpherson, he says: "If this translator would leave his Celtic hyperboles for a moment and descend from the stilts of his extravagant impudence, merely to inform the republic of letters, in which the least are his equals, not few his superiors, what is traditional, what is interpolated in his pieces, it would be better for him. As it is, the manifest intention he shows to deceive, and his ignorant and impudent assertions, will totally stifle all returns from the public to his labours, and render his posthumous fame less than nothing."

His next charge is against Highlanders in general. On this he says: "The Highland Celts for the first time thrusting their noses into the world of letters, they have from the darkness of their own minds judged of an enlightened age. For how can an ignorant and absurd mind conceive the light and accuracy of science, or have any idea of the danger of insulting it? Alas! they know no better. To their misty understandings tradition's silliest tales, and the dreams of the darkest nights of ignorance, altered at pleasure by the prejudiced imaginations of modern writers, strangers to all principles of common science and common literary integrity, assume the sacred shape of history. Instead of arguing of such infatuation, peculiar to a second-sighted people of disordered senses, we can only express the deepest regret at such a prospect of mental misery, at such calamitous depravation of the name of man."—(Enquiry, Vol. II., pp. 181-185.)

Malcolm Laing published his criticism of these poems in 1805. The scope of this critic is chiefly to show that Macpherson had borrowed his similies and poetical imagery from the sacred Scriptures, classics, modern poetry, and Irish ballads. He says: "The secret of Ossian's Poems consisted in the measured prose, which the translator adopted and brought to its perfection, and from the novelty of which the public was not enabled to recognise its own poetry when clothed in prose sublime, and transformed into bombast."—(Vol. I., p. 207.)

Macpherson might have regarded the severe objections of his adversaries as useful hints to produce his original MSS., particularly to show a specimen of the epic poem he wrote Mr. Maclaggan of Amulrie that he had been lucky to find, but he added not a single syllable relative to the copies or the reciters of any of the originals, not even a single line of them.

The next year after "Temora" appeared in print, Macpherson received a Crown appointment to the State of Florida in America, where he remained between two and three years, and then returned to England. During his absence, and for seven years thereafter, he maintained a stoical attitude towards his critics. In 1773, he published a revised edition of the "Poems of Ossian," with Notes and Dissertations, and then resigned them for ever to their fate.

The public, who had been puzzled before, were now confounded with his revised explanations. Instead of setting himself right with his critics he, on the contrary, dropped some hints which must have had a direct tendency to confirm their scepticism.

In the Dissertations he says: " Since the publication of these poems many insinuations have been made, and doubts concerning their authenticity. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of malice, I neither know nor care. Those who have doubted my veracity have paid a compliment to my genius, and, were even the allegations true, my self-denial might atone for my faults, without vanity I may say it. I think I could write tolerable poetry, and I assure my antagonists that I would not translate what I could not imitate."

Macpherson's mind had been early impregnated with Homer and other classical poets. He seems, on undertaking this task, to have formed a resolution to produce a Gaelic epic or historical poem by welding together any short poems and fragments of romantic tales he might find, so as to make them appear as longer ones, in a way that would do honour to his country, and confirm his own reputation as a restorer with literary fame. But to produce a poem of any historical value, its characters, topography, and dates would require to be in harmony with contemporary annalists. But these necessary features are much out of place in Ossian.

The Greeks made the master mind of their great poet appear to pervade the Iliad and Odyssey, ascribed to him, in all their parts. It were necessary that all the poems ascribed to Ossian should have an affinity to each other, in order that a vein of the genius of the father of Highland poets would pervade them also, but in this Macpherson and his assistants signally failed. One of the most glaring mistakes of Macpherson is that of Ossian's account of his own father. The first feat of prowess he records of Fingal is a victory in Scandinavia over the renowned Starno. (Fingal, Book V.) He afterwards beats Caracalla, the son of the Roman emperor, in 211 A.D. ("Comala.") Fingal's grandson, Oscar, defeated the Roman usurper, Carausius, about the year 287. ("Caros.") We find Fingal, after the death of Oscar, able to subdue Cathmor, the most valiant man in Ireland, in a single combat. ("Temora," Book VIII.) And to crown all his deeds, he defeats a king of Lochlin, who invaded Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century. ("Battle of Lora.")

Such errors in chronology were enough to condemn the whole work, and it may be said that from the time the Highland Society issued its "Report," though too partial in their favour, the "Poems of Ossian" have been lowered from their original historical platform, and generally speaking, are now valued by the public merely—as any other works of fiction—for their intrinsic poetic beauties and moral sentiments.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES MACPHERSON AND DR. JOHN SMITH CONTRASTED.

THERE have been many treatises written in support of Macpherson's "Ossian," but the two principal buttresses propping these poems are the "Highland Society's Report on Ossian's Poems" and the "Gaelic Antiquities," or "Sean Dana." The Gaelic of the "Report" was drawn up by Dr. Donald Smith, and that of "Sean Dana" was produced by his brother, the Reverend John Smith. At a subsequent stage I shall again refer to the "Report," and I now proceed to notice briefly the life and labours of

DR. JOHN SMITH.

Mr. John Smith was born at Croftbrackley, in Glenorchy, in 1747. "He was licensed by the Presbytery of Kintyre in 1773, ordained by them in 1775 as missionary at Tarbert, was presented to the parish of Kilbrandon in 1777, and translated to Campbeltown in 1781. Had D.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1787, and died in 1807, in the sixtieth year of his age and the thirty-second of his ministry, and is buried in the ruins of the Chapel of Kilchousland in that parish." (Fasti Ecc. Scot., Vol. V.)

Dr. Smith was a voluminous writer. Besides the "Sean Dana," he wrote the "History of the Druids," the "Life of Saint Columba," several religious works and translations, also a treatise on the Agriculture of the County of Argyle, and the Statistical Account of the Parish of Campbeltown, &c. His countrymen are under special obligations to him for the share he had in translating the Scriptures. He was the first that rendered the Prophets, from Isaiah to Malachi (inclusive), into Scotch Gaelic.

He also, at the request of the Synod, revised and corrected a metrical version of the Psalms and Paraphrases, which are still used in the Southern Highlands, and are esteemed for their simplicity and purity of language, and the easy and harmonious flow of their versification.

Dr. Smith having thus the ear and confidence of the public, published his "Antiquities" in 1780, and gave a Gaelic translation of them ("Sean Dana") in 1787. He followed these up by four letters, written between 1797 and 1802, given in the "Report," generally supporting Macpherson's poems. He evidently thought that in the fragments of heroic poetry he could trace the ancient history of Scotland. In the first of these letters to the Highland Society he says, "Investigate our history and it will give credibility to our poetry in more respects than in delicacy of *sentiment*. We have but lately emerged from a long night of barbarism; but previous to that night, there existed, as there is much reason to believe, a period of considerable light and refinement. I have made some efforts, not as yet very successfully, to penetrate the darkness in which Highland history is involved." ("Report," page 72.) In tracing closely the explanations given, we find that Macpherson and Smith followed the same plan in penetrating this gloom.

In the Dissertations to "Ossian's Poems," Macpherson styles himself Author, Writer, and Translator of these poems, which terms he did not satisfactorily explain. Yet with all his sullenness and contempt for his critics, enough can be gathered from his arguments, dissertations, and notes, to shew that the fragments of *old ballads* and *tales* were the backbone of his "Ossian." The following is a sample. In the notes to "Duthona," he says, "The versification in several places is broken, and only supplied from the traditionary *tale* which accompanies the poem." Again, "The most of the paragraph, and part of that before and after it, are selected from the traditionary *tale* of the poem—the dialogue is there carried on to a greater length, but appears too frivolous to be translated." In a note to "Cathloda," he says, "The abrupt manner in which the story of the poem begins may render it obscure, it may not therefore be improper to give here the *traditional* preface, which is generally prefixed to it." He then recites a circumstantial account of Fingal's visit to the Orkney Islands, and concludes by saying, "The sequel of this story may be learned from the poem itself." In the argument to "Comala," he says, "*Tradition* has handed down this story more complete than it is in the poem;" and concludes, "The sequel of the *story* may be gathered from the poem itself." In the argument to "Sulmala of Lumon," he says, "The *story* is imperfect, a part of the original being lost." And in one of the notes to this poem, he ends, "The catastrophe is so unnatural, and the circumstances so ridiculously pompous, that for the sake of the inventors I shall conceal them." In a note to "Cathlin of Clutha," he says, "Some of the *traditions* which accompany this poem I have rejected as having no manner of connection with the rest of the piece." In the arguments prefixed to "Darthula" he says, "It may not be improper here to give the *story* which is the foundation of the poem." And in the preface to the "War of Inis-thona," he says, "The work itself is lost, but some episodes and the *story* of the poem are handed down by *tradition*."

The candour and openness of Dr. Smith are in favourable contrast to the taciturnity of Macpherson. Smith tells us how he found the materials of his "Sean Dana," and how they were treated by him. Thus—"Many pieces were found of no inconsiderable merit, though few of them either entire or uncorrupted. What seemed in this case the most natural expedient was to collect from different quarters as many *oral recitations* as possible, in order to supply the defects, and rectify the mistakes of the one by the help of another. After the materials were collected, the next labour was to compare the different editions, to strike off several parts that were manifestly spurious, bring together some episodes that appeared to have a relation to one another—it might be equally unnecessary, if candour did not require it, to mention the unavoidable necessity of throwing in sometimes a few lines or sentences to join some of these episodes together, and to lead the reader through a breach which must have otherwise remained a hiatus. If any apology be requisite for these freedoms, I can add that I have been for the most part guided in my conjectures, and even supplied in my additions, by the *traditional tales* and *sgeulachds* which always accompany and explain the old Gaelic poems, and which often remain entire when the poems themselves are reduced to fragments. I am sensible the form of the poems is considerably altered from what is found in any single one of the editions from which they are compiled—that the *tales* take the strongest hold on the memory and imagination in as much that they are frequently to be met with where the poems are beginning to be rare." (Smith's Gaelic Antiquities, Edin., 1780. 4to. pp. 128-9.) We thus gather from both that the *story* was generally the *foundation* of the *poem*. The question then is, how did the tales descend to the era of Macpherson and Smith? I shall refer to this subject when I come to examine the antiquity of the Bards.

In closing this chapter, I have to remark that both Macpherson and Smith were true poets, the first in English and the other in Gaelic, and were eminently qualified for this kind of work.

As regards Macpherson, his coadjutor, Captain Morison, admits he had much merit in collecting, arranging, and translating; but was not thoroughly acquainted with the Gaelic literature.—("Report," p. 177.)

Captain Morison further assured the Rev. Mr. Irvine of Little Dunkeld, that he wrote out the Gaelic for him for the most part on account of Macpherson's inability to write or spell it properly; and assisted him much in translating, and that it was their general practice, when any passage occurred which they did not understand, either to pass it over entirely or to gloss it over with any expression that might appear to coalesce easily with the context. (Graham's Essay on Ossian's Poems.) Dr. Graham, of Aberfoyle, draws a comparison between Smith and Macpherson saying, "It is remarkable that, compared with the slovenly translation, or rather paraphrases of Dr. Smith, a man of acknowledged literature, an able author of original works in English and well-known as an adept in the Gaelic language, his poems are, upon the whole, of such unequal merit, and the incongruous shreds of ancient and modern compositions are so clumsily patched together that no person can with patience peruse any of them from the beginning to the end." (Ib., pp. 243-4.) Macpherson far surpasses him as a translator, while he frequently represents with great success the rapid and sententious form of the original; and, in general, he renders the sense of his author with much fidelity. (Ib., p. 273.)

But with all these apparent excellencies of Macpherson, Dr. Graham is not satisfied with his English translation, but gives one of his own of the seventh book of "Temora," saying, "It will perhaps appear desirable to see the venerable bard divested of adventitious ornaments, and exhibited as nearly as possible in his own garb, as the genius of our language will permit" (p. 295.)

It is very singular that the seventh book of "Temora" and sixteen lines of "Fingal" were the only parts of the Gaelic "Ossian" printed during Macpherson's lifetime, and the MSS. of these were not Macpherson's but those of his friend and assistant, Mr. Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie, who was himself an elegant Gaelic poet and scholar. From the evidence given of Macpherson's defective knowledge of Gaelic, coupled with these two links, we are ready to conclude with Mr. Laing and Mr. J. F. Campbell, that the English "Ossian" was the original, from which the Gaelic was ultimately partly translated.

The English "Ossian" was published between 1761 and 1763, but the Gaelic version did not appear till 1807. The editing and revising were carefully done by such eminent Gaelic scholars as Dr. Donald Smith, Dr. Ros of Lochbroom, Dr. Stewart of Dingwall, and others. No wonder though Macpherson's works might appear to have more polish than Dr. Smith's, as we know of only one edition of his "Sean Dana," published in 1787. Macpherson's books paid well, but Dr. Smith's turned out quite the reverse. While yet a youth he was such an ardent admirer of Gaelic poetry that, having got a parcel of Gaelic ballads, he was persuaded to run shares with a bookseller in their publication, which turned out a severe loss, when his income was only £30 a year." (Report, pp. 73-89.) And every attempt he made in publishing secular Gaelic literature only proved a renewed loss, which made him exclaim in his latter years (1802), "I could never think of Gaelic poetry with pleasure and patience, except it had been dead before I was born." (Report, p. 89.)

Although Dr. Graham undervalued Dr. Smith's abilities as a scholar and poet, others equally learned held a different opinion. Dr. Archibald Clerk, the editor of the last edition of "Ossian's Poems" (1870) says, "Smith's Ancient Lays refer entirely to Ossianic heroes, and are far more finished in form than Macpherson's 'Ossian,' showing the work of a master of Gaelic who wrote leisurely and skilfully at the materials before him. I do not notice even one line that is harsh or unintelligible, whereas there are scores in Macpherson." (Summary, p xxxiv.)

Another competent critic, and himself a Gaelic poet, the Rev. Duncan M'Lean, of Glenorchy, says of Dr. Smith, "His translation of the Prophecy of Isaiah will be held in admiration as long as the language into which he rendered it endures, and as long as there is a Gaelic scholar found alive who can appreciate its beauties." (New Ecclesiastical Statistics.)

CHAPTER III.

THE CLAIMS OF THE GAELIC AND ENGLISH "OSSIAN" TO PRIORITY.

THERE has been a keen controversy about the prior claims of the Gaelic and English versions of "Ossian's Poems." Those in favour of the authenticity of "Ossian" maintain that Macpherson had originally arranged his MSS. in Gaelic and then translated the same into English, whilst others hold the contrary opinion. All the evidence hitherto adduced favours the latter theory.

The English "Fragments of Ossianic Poetry" published by Macpherson was printed in 1760. The poem of "Fingal," and other fifteen lesser pieces, were published in 1761, and "Temora" and other five poems were published in 1762.

The English edition in all contained twenty-two poems. The Gaelic version appears to be but selections from the English, as there never appeared in print or manuscript more than eleven poems. Those in the English version not found in the Gaelic are—

The War of Caros.
War of Inisthona.
Battle of Lora.
Death of Cuchullin.
Darthula.
Songs of Selma.
Lathmon.
Oithona.
Berethon.
Cathlin of Clutha.
Sulmalla of Lumon.

That is not to say but these English pieces had as much merit as those printed in Gaelic. In fact "Darthula" and the "Songs of Selma" are held by eminent critics to be the greatest gems of "Ossian's Poems."

We have thus the English "Ossian" printed in 1761-3, but the selections of the Gaelic version did not appear in print till forty-five years afterwards (1807). Sir John Sinclair, in his Dessertation to the London edition of "Ossian," gives a long disquisition on the circumstances which prevented the publication of the Gaelic "Ossian," but the reasons given are far from satisfactory. He begins by saying that "ever since their first appearance the publication of the original Gaelic had been promised." He then remarks, "At first Macpherson intended to publish them by subscription, but not getting encouragement he abandoned that; then he thought of depositing the manuscript copies in a public library, but he failed in doing this also. He afterwards took a whim of getting them published in the Greek character; but after consultation with friends, gave up that idea, and a final reason given was that he had gone abroad and could not attend to them, besides, being engaged with other literature, he could not spare time to devote to the Gaelic 'Ossian.'"

These were frivolous reasons which should not have stood in the way when his veracity was at stake, especially with one whose ability and energy were so great—having finished "Temora" and five minor books in one season, and rendered an English translation of Homer in three months. But the original manuscript of the Gaelic "Ossian," the supposed possession of which brought him to fame, neither the goading nor sneers of his critics would make him produce. It has been often said that he promptly and publicly answered the challenge by depositing his MSS. with his publishers, Becket & De Hondt, Strand, London, and that in the "Literary Journal" of 1784, Becket certified that the MSS. had lain in his shop for the space of a whole year for inspection.

These deposited MSS. were evidently those to which Malcolm Laing refers in his preface to "Ossian's Poems," in which he says, "The Gaelic MSS. collected by Macpherson are apparently those which were lodged in 1782 with Mr. John M'Kenzie, for the purpose of removing, not the authenticity of 'Ossian,' but the doubts raised by Johnson whether any ancient MS. in that language really existed. They have been repeatedly examined by Shaw, Astle, Dr. Donald Smith, by myself, and others, but no part of Macpherson's Gaelic 'Ossian' has hitherto been discovered." (Vol. I. Preface, pp. 43-4. Edin., 1805.)

The only specimen of the Gaelic "Ossian" published during Macpherson's lifetime is sixteen lines of the fourth book of "Fingal," commencing at the 259th line, and the seventh book of "Temora." Both these productions seem not to have been the work of Macpherson but that of his friend Macpherson of Strathmashie. The Gaelic specimen of the book of "Fingal" was communicated by the Rev. Andrew Gallie, of Kincardine, in a letter of 12th March, 1799, to Mr. Charles Macintosh, W.S., Edinburgh, a member of the Highland Society Committee. Mr. Gallie says regarding this specimen, "I have not 'Fingal' by me, nor easy access to it, therefore cannot say how these stanzas run in English, but they are sent you as taken out of the manuscript by a friend of Macpherson and mine, a gentleman well known for an uncommon acquaintance with the Gaelic, and who had a happy facility in writing in the Roman character." ("Report," p. 33.) After receipt of this letter the Highland Committee wrote Mr. Gallie, enquiring who the friend was whom he had mentioned as having furnished the passages of Gaelic poetry mentioned in his letter ("Report," p. 38.), to which Mr. Gallie replied 4th March, 1801, "The gentleman to whom I referred in my former correspondence as a familiar acquaintance of Macpherson and mine, and distinguished for his acquaintance with the Gaelic language, is, alas! no more. His name was Lachlane Macpherson, of Stramashy; he died in 1767." ("Report," p. 43.)

This specimen must have been in Mr. Gallie's possession between thirty and forty years before given to the public.

I now give Stramashy's specimen in parallel lines with that of the London edition of 1807, in order to show the transmutation the language had undergone in the interval. I also append James Macpherson's English version, which, with the exception of a few words, is literal. I think it will be evident to any impartial judge of literary products, who is acquainted with the genius of both languages, that the English and not the Gaelic supplied the basis of the original of these lines.

STRAMASHY'S SPECIMEN OF 1761-1767.

" Bha fer re fer is cruaigh re cruaigh,
Sgiatha fuaimneach daoine air lar,
Mar uird nan ceud air mac nan eill,
Dh'eirigh agus theirin gach lann.
Ghluais Goll mar Chrom osaig on aird,
Gun ghlan e saoighin as
Bha Suaran mar chaoir fasaich thall,
Am fraoch fuaimar Ghorm-mheall bras.
Ach cia mar chuirain sios le fonn,
Bàs trom nan sleagh bha ann ?
Bha scrathoil stri bha san bhlar,
Bu lasach ard mo lann.
Bha scrathoil Osgar mo mhac fein,
Thar càch bu treubhach maith !
Bha solas balbh am bhroileach shuas
Bha ghruaigh mar chaoir san catha."

MACPHERSON'S ENGLISH VERSION OF THE FOREGOING SPECIMEN.

"Man met with man, and steel with steel, shields sound and warriors fall. As a hundred hammers on the red son of the furnace, so rose, so rung their swords!

Gaul rushed on, like a whirlwind in Ardven. The destruction

VERSION OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF LONDON—1807.

" Bha fear air fear, is cruaidh air cruaidh
An sgiatha fuaim is daoin air lar,
Mar cheud ord le spairn is luath
Air dearg mhac teallaich na chaoir ard,
Mar sin dh'eirich airm an t's'luaigh
'S'mar sin bha fuaim nan lann.
Ghluais Gall mar Osaig an Ardbheinn,
'S b'e Sgriosadh nan treun a lann.
Bha Suaran mar choimeas do garbh thein,
Am fraoch Ghorm-mheall 'si lasadh ga ceann,
C'uine an cuirimese sios san dan
Gach bàs a bha ann fo shleagh ?
Dh'eirich mo chlaidheamh san am
'Na dhealan a'm laimh sa' mhagh.
Oscar b' fhuadhasach thu fein
Mo shàr mhac bu trein 'sa' b' fhearr;
Bha solas nam anam sa' bheinn
Ri faicinn do bheum sa bhlar."

---

of heroes is on his sword. Swaran was like the fire of the desert in the echoing heath of Gormal! How can I give to the song the death of many spears ? My sword rose high, and flamed in the strife of blood.

Oscar, terrible wert thou, my best, my greatest son! I rejoiced in my secret soul when his sword flamed over the slain." (" Fingal," Book IV.)

BOOK VII.—TEMORA.

The parentage of the seventh book of "Temora" is explained by Dr. Skene in a note in his "Introduction to the Book of the Dean of Lismore," in which he says, "Some years ago I happened to pass a couple of months in the immediate neighbourhood of Strathmashie, and I recollect having been informed at the time, but by whom I cannot tell, that after Lachlan Macpherson's death a paper was found in his repositories containing the Gaelic of the seventh book of "Temora" in his handwriting, with numerous corrections and alterations, with the title, 'First rude draft of the seventh book of Temora.'" (P. LVII.)

Macpherson went to London in 1762, finished and published there an English version of the book of "Temora," and five other poems. In 1764, he obtained the situation of private secretary to Captain Johnstone, on the appointment of the latter as Governor of Pensacola, in which capacity he went out to America, but a difference arising between him and the Governor he relinquished his post, and, after visiting the West India Islands, he returned to England in 1766, with a pension of £200 for life. Taking up his residence in London, he resumed his literary labours.

About the year 1777, he was appointed agent for the Nabob of Arcot, and on his behalf he published two works. It was thought requisite that he should have a seat in Parliament in order the more effectually to attend to the Nabob's interest. In 1780, he was elected member for Camelford, in Cornwall, for which place he was re-elected in 1784, and again in 1790. Declining health induced him to retire to his elegant mansion named Belville, which he built in the valley of the Spey, Inverness-shire, where he died in February, 1796.

We thus see that Macpherson had been in London from

1762 to 1790, with the exception of the two years he was in America, and during that time the coaxing of his friends, or the sneers of his critics, would not move him to produce the original Gaelic manuscript of "Ossian," which he was supposed to have in his possession.

His reasons for non-compliance are manifest: The half of the number of his pieces required to be translated, and what was actually translated required to be revised and brought into harmony with the English version, already in print.

His letter to the Highland Society of London, published by them in 1804, would indicate this. In it he says: "I must employ my first leisure time, and a considerable time it must be to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the Poems of Ossian." This was written at Norfolk Street, London, 1784. But this leisure time seems never to have come. The expense of publishing "Ossian" in Gaelic was an early excuse of Macpherson, but this obstacle was at last removed by the Highlanders of India sending £1,000 to defray the expenses, 29th October, 1783. Macpherson lived thirteen years after receiving this money, but took no trouble to publish the work as promised. He left £300 to build a monument to himself on his estate, and by his own appointment was buried in Westminster Abbey, but though wealthy he does not seem to have spent any of his own money in publishing the Gaelic "Ossian" which brought him into fame.

During the early era of the controversy, Strathmashie, Capt. Morison, Mr. Gallie, and others, are mixed up in the evidence of the Gaelic "Ossian." In 1782, whatever Gaelic MSS. of "Ossian" were in existence Macpherson deposited with his executor, Mr. John MacKenzie, of the Temple, who was considered an excellent Gaelic scholar. He is said to have been anxious to do credit to the task reposed in him, and determined to have the work printed in Gaelic and Latin on opposite pages. Mr. Thomas

Ros, of Edinburgh, afterwards of Lochbroom, was engaged to transcribe the work over again, and the Latin translation was assigned to Mr. Robert Macfarlane, A.M. Mr. MacKenzie himself had undertaken to revise the Gaelic while passing through the press, and he arranged with Nicol & Bulmer to have the work published, and a proof of the first sixteen pages was actually sent him, when he unfortunately died.

Mr. MacKenzie left several executors, who handed the MSS. of "Ossian" to the Highland Society of London, May, 1804. In consequence of his death it was found necessary to get the proofs revised by as eminent a Gaelic scholar as he was considered to be. The Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Moulin, afterwards of Dingwall, was preferred on account of the excellence of his Gaelic grammar. In the interim, Mr. Macfarlane, the Latin translator, was accidentally killed, leaving many parts of his task unfinished, which the Society had to supply.

At the outset, Mr. Ros was ordered to conform the orthography of the text, when writing the manuscripts, to that of the Gaelic Scriptures, but he did not obey the injunctions, and his own Gaelic rendering is all that we now have of the original of "Ossian." The mystery which hung over the Gaelic "Ossian" for thirty-four years, 1762-1796, culminated in the fatality of the chief executors of the work, and the disappearance of all the MSS.

As to the MSS. collected by Macpherson in the Highlands, no one could tell how they had been disposed of—not a leaf of them was left behind, or any explanation of their fate. It may be surmised that they would not bear the light, and as Dr. Ros would not obey his injunction as to style, he would have little scruple to do away with the unfinished originals.

This is the precarious story of the transmission of the Gaelic "Poems of Ossian," till published by the Highland Society of London in 1807.

The above cumulative evidence tends to show that the English version of "Ossian" was the original, for the following reasons—

1st. The English "Ossian" consists of twenty-two poems. published in 1761 and 1763. The Gaelic "Ossian" consists of eleven poems only, not published till 1807.

2nd. The MSS. deposited by Macpherson with his London publishers in 1784 were not those of the poems of "Ossian," but the materials collected in the Highlands in 1760.

3rd. No part of Macpherson's Gaelic "Ossian" was published during his lifetime, except sixteen lines of the fourth book of "Fingal" and the seventh book of "Temora," and both these were written by Strathmashie.

4th. The foregoing specimen from "Fingal" would indicate that the Gaelic versions are strained paraphrases from the English.

5th. Macpherson, in his letter of 1784, admits that his Gaelic "Ossian" was not then in order. He says, "I must employ my first leisure time, and a considerable time it must be, to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the 'Poems of Ossian.'" If the originals of the Gaelic were not accurate and arranged then, how was it possible to have translated the English from it twenty-one years previously?

6th. The English "Ossian" was finished by Macpherson in 1763, revised in 1773, and then left to its fate. The Gaelic was first re-written by Dr. Ros, and corrected by Dr. Stewart and others, and only published in 1807. From Macpherson's imperfect knowledge of Gaelic, it is now difficult to say what share (if any) he had in preparing the present Gaelic "Ossian."

CHAPTER IV.

THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY'S REPORT ON "OSSIAN'S POEMS."

THE severe style of criticism pursued by Dr. Johnson, Pinkerton, and others, not only assailed Macpherson, but touched the reputation of all Highlanders, and, to put an end to this reproach, a certain number of gentlemen formed themselves into an association called "The Highland Society of Scotland," with the object of enquiring into the authenticity of "Ossian's Poems." The Society started their enquiry by forwarding a set of searching queries to all parts of the Highlands and Islands among such persons residing there as seemed likely to afford the information desired.

The Committee were in no hurry in submitting the results of their labours to the public. The dates of the letters and other vouchers produced extend over a period of upwards of forty years, 1763-1805.

The "Report on Ossian's Poems" was drawn up at the latter date by Henry M'Kenzie, chairman, and the Appendix to same, with Gaelic translations, was arranged by Dr. Donald Smith.

As the Committee anticipated, the "Report" was received by the public with considerable interest, but the results of the enquiry did not set at rest the question of the authenticity of the "Poems," but rather raised greater doubts and difficulties in the way. Although the Committee, in their conclusions, admit that they had not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with those published by Macpherson, still the tendency of their arguments would indicate the possibility of there being such.

The evidence produced may be classed under three heads, to wit—(1) Manuscripts, (2) Oral Poetry, and (3) Correspondence.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Of the extracts of the manuscripts printed in the Appendix to the "Report," only eight are older than the sixteenth century. And if the Glenmasan MS. is excepted (to which I shall have occasion afterwards to refer), all the others do not seem to have any special bearing on Macpherson's "Poems of Ossian." These old documents may be described as follows—

1. The oldest contains the Irish tale of the Tain, also a poem moral and religious, and some short historical anecdotes.
2. A meeting of Fint with his son Oisen, which also appears to be Irish.
3. An almanac with a list of holiday festivals and saint days, a translation of a treatise on anatomy from Galen; also observations from the famous medical school of Salerno.
4. The Glenmasan MS. containing the tragic tale of Deirdri and the sons of Usneach; also Irish romantic tales.
5. A translation of a mythological tale about Anteus the son of Terra, and a chapter on Cæsar's invasion of Gaul.
6. A colloquy between Adam and Eve about the punishment due to the Fall.
7. An Irish Life of Saint Columba.
8. Some geographical names. To which may be added the Book of the Dean of Lismore.

POEMS.

The specimens of the poems produced are invariably extracts from old Gaelic ballads. The Committee make special reference to a poem, or the fragments of poems, in the Appendix to the "Report" (No. 15), in which they say: "The substance and sometimes the literal expression of passages given by Macpherson are often found in them. These ancient Gaelic poems, with an English translation, are given at page 189 of the Report."

This document evidently had been diligently pieced together from many Gaelic ballads by the ingenious editor, Dr. Donald Smith. The comparisons were so strained that many lines in the same paragraph are often from several MSS. In a single page (248), twenty-two lines are taken from fifteen different pages of ten separate MSS. Having reduced these fragments to something like the condition which printers call "pie," he constructed the pieces from passages, quatrains, lines, half lines, and words out of the "pie," which phrases everybody acknowledged to be old, but of whose antiquity nobody affirmed.

If Macpherson had admitted that his "Ossian" had been produced in this way, the controversy would have ended long ago; but he led the public to believe that he got possession of MSS. which could be traced back to "Ossian." His own words are: "I have been lucky enough to lay my hands on a pretty complete poem and truly epic, the antiquity of it is easily ascertained." The Committee, having undertaken to ascertain if this was the case, clearly failed in their attempt.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Correspondence in the "Report," as already remarked, extends over a period of forty years. But the real labours of the Committee only commenced in 1797, being the year following the death of Macpherson, and their task was brought to an end in May, 1805, when the "Report" was printed. There is much in the "Report" wide of the mark. It is only when it condescends on particulars that the vouchers are of any value. It is very singular, though so many learned and pious men attested that they had heard or known of the originals of the "Poems," that none presumed to assert that he possessed in writing, could repeat from memory, or had supplied James Macpherson with any of the "Poems," or even a page of them as published by him.

MACPHERSON'S ALLEGED ADVANTAGES.

The Committee lament that they had commenced their enquiry too late ("Report," p. 152.), that the advantage of collation of various editions of the same poems must have been very great thirty or forty years back, when copies were much more frequent, and when persons who could recite the tales and poetry and who could write the language of the Highlands were very much greater in number than at present. (Ibid., p. 20.)

It is a mistake to suppose, as would be assumed from the above, that Macpherson had been the first to collect the heroic literature of the Highlands. The ground had been carefully gleaned long before he was born.

In the reign of Queen Anne, upwards of fifty years before Macpherson commenced to collect his Ossianic poetry, Mr. Edward Lluyd published his "Philological Dictionary." Having travelled through Scotland and Ireland during its compilation to collect all the information he could procure respecting the language of both these countries, he opened an extensive correspondence with the learned inhabitants in order to assist his enquiries; he also forwarded copies of his printed sheets into Scotland and Ireland before he had finally closed his work, yet we do not find that he obtained a single hint relative to the Highland Ossian, or any of his family. But in the catalogue of Irish MSS. this writer speaks of the Fenii, or heroes of Fingal, as the ancient militia of Ireland, and had a different opinion then prevailed in the Highlands of Scotland, he was in the way to have been put right, for he received poetical compliments from not less than nine Caledonian bards, who could not have so far neglected the honour of their country as to have overlooked such a circumstance.

Three of these bards were Highlanders of culture in Argyleshire. The first address is by Mr. Andrew Maclean, of Knock, in Tiree, son of the Bishop of Argyle; the eighth address, which has been often printed, is by Mr. Robert Campbell, of the Ardkinlas family; and the ninth address is by the Reverend John Maclean, minister of Kilninian, in Mull.

We thus see that the field had been gone over much more carefully, leisurely, and openly than the run made by Macpherson during the summer of 1760.

In ending this chapter, I would observe that the "Red Book of Clanranald" is often referred to by the Committee in their Report as the chief manuscript on Ossianic poetry procured by Macpherson, the contents of which are thus described by Malcolm Laing—"The 'Red Book of Clanranald,' from the candid communication of the Highland Society, is now in my hands. It is a duodecimo bound volume of one hundred and fifty leaves, in the Irish character, which the Mac Vurichs understood and wrote, dated in the middle of the songs, September 8, 1726, but the boards and a few leaves at the beginning and end are lost, and these, it is shrewdly suspected, contained the original poems of Ossian." (Dess. App. to Hist. of Scot., London, 1800.)

CHAPTER V.

THE NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES IN "OSSIAN'S POEMS."

A RECENT writer says: "The 'Poems of Ossian,' which I call Macpherson's, are remarkably atopic—that is, they seldom venture to name a place that we can recognise; and my theory is, that having a desire to keep to the ancient legends and poems, but being only imperfectly acquainted with the whole literature, he preferred as much as possible indefinite scenes. All are vaguely described, the new ordnance map has been formed by the advice of an enthusiast of 'Ossian'; these maps will be used as evidence, but as such they must be put aside whenever they use a name which has been first applied to a place since Macpherson wrote."—(Smith's "Loch Etive and the sons of Usnoth," p. 122: London, 1879.)

The nomenclature of "Ossian" is of two classes, the first class consists of simple Gaelic adjectives, made to appear as proper names, but Anglicised so as to obscure their original meaning; the other class is old legend and ballad names, which Macpherson misunderstood or changed to make them appear different from what they are in the Irish tales and ballads.

THE FIRST CLASS.

The Female Characters from Macpherson's Glossary and Notes.

Strinadona	Strife of heroes	(Cath Loda).
Comala	Pleasant brow	(Comala).
Vinvella	Sweet mouth	(Carric thura).
Colnadona,	Love of heroes,	(Colnadona).
Oithona,	Maid of the waves,	(Oithona).
Colmal,	Small eye brows,	(Calthon and Colmal).
Lanul,	Full eyes,	(Cathlin of Clutha).
Colma,	Fine hair,	(Songs of Selma).
Brassolis,	White breast,	(Fingal Bk. 1).
Gelchossa,	White legs,	(Fingal Bk. 1).
Darthula,	Fine eyes,	(Darthula).
Sulmala,	Slow rolling eyes,	(Fingal).
Gormul,	Blue eyes,	(Conlath and Calthon).
Meliscoma,	Soft rolling eyes,	(Fingal).
Muirne,	A woman beloved by all,	(Fingal).
Bosvina,	Soft and tender hands,	(Fingal).
Slesima,	Soft bosom,	(Cuchullin).
Malvina,	Soft and lovely brow,	(Berethon).
Sulallin,	Beautiful eye,	(Cathlin of Clutha).

Male Characters.

Ferchios,	Conqueror of men,	(Fingal).
Nertmor,	Great strength,	(Battle of Lora).
Clessemar,	Mighty deeds,	(Carthon).
Cathul,	Eye of battle,	(Carthon).
Cantela,	Head of a family,	(Cuchullin).
Lamor,	Mighty hand,	(Cuchullin).
Selgar,	A hunter,	(Carric thura).
Turloch,	Man of the quiver,	(Temora).
Sonmor,	Tall handsome man,	(Temora).

THE SECOND CLASS.

Cruithne,	Corn eaters.
Cairber,	A strong man.
Usnoth,	A lord of Etha.
Nathos,	Youthful.
Althos,	Exquisite beauty.
Ardan,	Pride.
Fithil or Fili,	An inferior bard.
Cuchullin,	The voice of Ullin.
Fergus or Fearcuth,	A man of the word.
Selma,	A beautiful place.
Balclutha,	The town of Clyde.
Balteutha,	The town of the Tweed.
Temora or Timorath,	The house of good fortune.
Golb-bhean,	A crooked hill.
Clonrath,	A winding field.

Besides these doubtful definitions, he has changed Deirdri to Darthula, Manos to Suaran, Conchubar to Cairber, &c.

There is one locality that is ever and anon referred to in these poems, which, if properly specified, would have settled the geography of "Ossian" long ago, namely, that of

SELMA.

Macpherson had many opportunities of describing its situation, but he vouchsafed none. All he says regarding it is that Selma signified a place with a fine view; yet he condescends to specify two places in Ireland bearing the name Selma, to wit, the fortress in which Darthula was confined, and another in Ulster, the seat of Toscar; but he left the Scotch Selma to be discovered by his sanguine commentators.

Around the lower banks of Loch Etive, and extending northward to Lochaber, a halo of the ancient glory of Scotland still survives. There, it is alleged, the famous Beregonium, the centre of the Scottish monarchy, had its seat on that of a vitrified fort called Dun MacSniachan, which is now further pointed out as the renowned Selma, in which the Fingalians held their high carousals. This triple glory is now so blended together that it is difficult to speak of the one without referring to the other.

There seems to be no historian on the theory of Beregonium earlier than Hector Boece, of Aberdeen. He has been followed by Buchanan, Hollinshead, and others, who specify the kings that flourished there, to wit, Fergus I., Feretheris, Mainus, Dornadilla, Ruther, Conanus, Iosina, Finanus, Durstus, and Ewin II.

Dunstaffnage also comes in for its share of honour. Boece says it was called after King Stephen. In a little volume published in 1612, by John Monnipennie, called "The Summarie of the Scots Chronicles," it says: "King Evanus is alleged to have built the castle of Dunstaffnage, had his residence in Bergone. He is the twelfth of the kings mentioned in the Scots Chronicles who dwelt at Bergone. The first in the list is Fergus, who is said to have built the castle of Bergone, in Loughquhabir."

Henry Maule, of Melgum, in his history of the Picts, is more particular. He says, "It was a strong castle, built by Fergus I. in the year 330 B.C., and that it was the usual dwelling of the ancient Scottish kings."

The Ossianic controversy of the eighteenth century revived and continued these theories till the present time. The Rev. Donald M'Nicol, in his strictures on Dr. Johnson's book, places the capital of Scotland, not at Dun mac Snichan, but at Inverlochy, at least since the eighth century. He says, "Our first league with France was in the reign of Charlemagne, in 790, signed by that monarch, and afterwards by our King Achaius at Inverlochy."

In Sinclair's statistics of 1793, the Reverend Ludovic Grant, minister of Ardchattan, says, "In this district stood the famous city of Beregonium. It was situated within two hills, one called *Dun mac Snichan* (the hill of Snachan), and the other, much superior in height, is named *Dun-bhail-an-righ* (the hill of the king's town). A street paved with common stones, running from the foot of the one hill to the other, is still called *Straid Mhargaid,* the market street, and another, placed at a little distance, goes by the name of *Straid na min,* or meal street. About ten or eleven years ago, a man cutting peats in a moss between the two hills, found one of the wooden pipes that conveyed the water from the one hill to the other, at the depth of five feet below the surface. On the top of Dun mac Snichan is a large heap of rubbish or pumice stones, but no distinct trace of any building or fortification can now be seen on either of the hills, the foundations having been dug up for the purpose of erecting houses in the neighbourhood." (Vol. 6, p. 180-182.)

In the New Ecclesiastical Statistics, published in 1845, the Reverend James Fraser, of Ardchattan, says, "It has been conjectured that on an eminence between the Connell and the Shean stood the famous city of Bergone or Bergonium, and it is held also that Dun mac Snichan is the identical Selma of the poet Ossian, and the site of the Fingallian dynasty." (Vol. III., p. 494.)

Among the proofs appended to Sir John Sinclair's evidence of the authenticity of the "Poems of Ossian," to the Gaelic and Latin editions of 1807, is a brief description of Selma, with a plan. The writer says, "There is every reason to believe that Selma, so often mentioned in the 'Poems of Ossian' as the principal residence of his father, Fingal, was situated in that part of Argyleshire called Upper Lorn, on a green hill of an oblong form which rises on the sea shore, at equal distances from the mouths of the lakes Eti and Creran. It is now called by the inhabitants of the place, *Dun mhic Snitheachan*, the fort of the son of Snitho, but by some of our historians Beregonium, and by them said to have once been the capital of the kingdom of the Gaels or Caledonians. On the top of this hill are still to be seen vestiges of extensive buildings, with fragments of the walls, bearing evident marks of fire, scattered along the sides of the hill; but it does not appear that the place had been at any period affected by a volcano, as some think, seeing that the remains of a circular edifice which stood on the end of the hill further from the sea have not the least appearance, most of the stones of which had been carried away by the inhabitants of the adjacent farm for private use. Whatever had occasioned the fall of Selma, Ossian must have known it; for he had seen it, as will appear from his poems, when thousands feasted in its halls, and had also the misfortune to see it in ruins." (Vol. III., p. 498.)

THE VITRIFIED REMAINS OF DUN MAC SNICHAN.

Conjectures about these vitrifactions have given wonderful flights of fancy to the believers in Ossian. Some of these I will refer to at a subsequent stage.

These erections may be said to be peculiar to Scotland. Attention at first was called to them in the year 1771 by John Williams, Government mineral surveyor. Since then many ingenious and baseless theories have been built upon them, some supposing them to be forts of defence, others sites for beacon fires, and others extinct volcanoes. The latter idea has been exploded long ago, and also that of beacon fires. But a few still cling with tenacity to the idea of their having been places of defence, yet it is strange that any person of a sane mind should think that the Highlanders who scaled the Roman ramparts built across the country should shut themselves within these narrow circles, the most formidable of which could be cleared at a bound, and besides, their occupants could not have much shelter, nor any quantity of food and water to sustain a siege for any length of time.

Dr. M'Culloch, the geologist, says: "It has been asserted that these vitrified forts actually did communicate in chains throughout the country. Nothing but ignorance respecting these works and places could have led to such an assertion; it is not the fact in many instances, it is physically, geographically, and optically impossible. Many of them, indeed, are placed in situations so low or so entangled among hills as to preclude all communications of this nature, as is the case in Islay, in Morvern, in Ardnamurchan, in Galloway, and along the Bogie," and he might also add three in Cowal.

Regarding their height, materials, and mode of erections, the same author says: "It is only by comparison of many different specimens in different parts of the country, and by estimating from such parts as remain entire, that we can conjecture what the height of the walls was in this instance. Everything leads us to conclude that they did not exceed five or six feet, or that they were little more than breast work.

The rock on which Dun MacSnichan is built is not vitrifiable, but a very fusible rock was present at a short distance, and also scattered in the plains. This may be said of all vitrified forts. It is hence evident that the builders of these works were aware of the qualities of these rocks, and it is equally evident that they chose the fusible in preference to the infusible, although with a considerable increase of labour, the obvious conclusion being that they designed from the beginning to vitrify the walls. The mode of vitrifying would be that of constructing a species of furnace by means of earthen mounds, in which stones and fire were introduced till the structure was erected. The materials in the walls are partly roasted without adhesion, and partly vitrified or glazed or scorified. Wherever stones not capable of vitrifaction have undergone this change, it has been produced by the alkali of the wood (or perhaps of bracken or sea wrack, both of which are rich in alkali,) used in the process, whence the glazed surfaces of many unvitriable substances."—(H. & W. I., Vol. I., pp. 285-298.)

These specious theories, the Ordnance Map, Ecclesiastical Statistics, Gazetteers, and guide books, hand down to the present time with the departed glories of Beregonium, Selma, and Dun MacSnichan. I shall now notice briefly these theories in their order, commencing with

BEREGONIUM.

Dr. M'Culloch says: " The Beregonium of Dun MacSniachan is after all a great blunder. It seems plain that the inventor of the present Beregonium mistook Loch Ryan for the mouth of Loch Etive. Loch Ryan appears to be the *Reregonios Kolpos* of Ptolemy, who wrote in the year 140 A.D. Rerigonios—in some copies Retigonion—belonged to a place supposed to be now Bargeny. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna, a continuator of Ptolemy, appears to have borrowed the little knowledge he possessed of Britain from the Greek mathematician, and whom, by the bye, he misquotes. He converts the R into a B, retaining the second r, and therefore writes Beregonium; thus the real Reregonium of antiquity is a place in Ayrshire, not in Lorn. Moreover, Ptolemy has no town at the mouth of Loch Etive, which he supposed to be the estuary of a river, and has called *Ituos potomon ekbolai;* which should have been the case had there been an ancient capital like the visionary Beregonium here.

And, it is plain that his Loch Etive and his Reregonion are distinct places; as the astronomical situations are laid down widely asunder, thus:—

Ituos pot. ek. (Loch Etive)—Long., 27·00; lat., 60·00.
Rerigonius Kol. (Loch Ryan)—Long., 20·30; lat., 60.45.
—(H. & W. I., Vol. I., pp. 278-280.)

On this blundered name, Hector Boece, of Aberdeen, whose imagination was superior to his judgment, found a convenient situation for a capital to rear his fabulous line of thirty-nine Scottish kings, whose existence passed current till exploded by Father Innes in his Critical Essay of 1729.

SELMA.

No sooner was the fiction of the thirty-nine Milesian kings disposed of, than another was created to dovetail into the era preceding Ossian. In a note to the second book of "Temora," Macpherson says, "Fergus II., son of Fingal, according to some traditions, was the ancestor of Fergus the son of Erc, commonly called Fergus II., of the Scottish histories. The genealogy of his family is recorded thus by the Highland Seanachies: *Fergus mac Arcath, mac Chongeal, mac Fergus, mac Fiongeal na buai.*" If we ask what authority there is for this unheard of connection between *Fiongeal na buai*, or victorious, and Fergus II., the son of Erc, the answer is that it depends on the same authentic and never-failing traditions as the rest of "Ossian."

Of this royal race of Selma, Sir John Sinclair says, "Whatever had occasioned the fall of Selma, Ossian must have known it, for he had seen it, as will appear from his poems, when thousands feasted in its halls, and had also the misfortune to see it in ruins."

DUN-MAC-SNIACHAN.

We have seen that Dun mac Sniachan is the name given to this vitrified fort by all the authorities quoted, yet Dr. Skene, in his Preface to the Book of the Dean of Lismore, says, "Dun mhic Uisneachan *is now* corruptly called Dun mac Sniachan in guide books—the children of Uisneach were of the race of the Cruithne or Picts, and preceded the Scots that came from Ireland in the fifth century."

This is giving a new face to the name. Dr. Skene is now, doubtless, looked to as an oracle on Highland antiquities. Dr. Archibald Clerk, in his dissertation to the edition of "Ossian's Poems" of 1870, says, "Mr. Skene kindly solved every antiquarian doubt which I submitted to him." (LXVI.) And Dr. Angus Smith, in his book, "Loch Etive and the Sons of Usnoth" (London, 1869), homologates the definitions of Dr. Skene in his topography. As I shall have occasion to refer to this locality when treating of the topography of the Glenmasan MS. I shall not at present pursue this subject any further.

The hill on which Dun mac Sniachan is situated is of an oblong form, running east and west, and extending to about 70 by 32 feet on top, which is comparatively flat, and nearly covered with coarse grass. At the east end the remains of the fort are situated. The vitrified stones on surface are very few. Several of those who have written concerning this point account for their scarcity by saying "that the foundations had been dug up for the purpose of erecting houses in the neighbourhood." This is a very convenient excuse, but will not stand criticism, as vitrified stones would not be the most suitable for other erections, and if used could be traced to from where taken.

We have seen, as stated in Sinclair's Ecclesiastical Statistics, "that a man cutting peats in a moss between the two hills of Dun mac Sniachan and Dun-bhail-an-righ found one of the wooden pipes that conveyed the water from the one hill to the other at a depth of five feet below the surface." Dr. Angus Smith, referring to this in his book, "Loch Etive and the Sons of Usnoth," says, " It has been alleged that a very deep well was situated on Dun-bhail-an-righ, from which a tunnel was cut through the rock, and the water conveyed in wooden pipes into the royal palace of Beregonium. A recent search was made for this unfathomable well, but the only crevice in the rock did not exceed three or four feet in depth, and no trace of the tunnel was found. It is thus clear that the water could not be led through the rock, and if led at all must have been led over the brow of the hill." Dr. Smith explored this fort recently, and from the description given in his book, already referred to, it would seem its little compartments were more suitable for the dwellings of pigmies than for those of the alleged Fingallian giants.

He thus sums up the results of his explorations: " So far my task has been to illustrate one fort only. I believe this is the first time that a regular dwelling has been found in a vitrified fort. Of course we can always distort every kind of evidence, and speak of previous occupations as being wonderfully far back, and no man can give a reply ; but I certainly found no evidence of anything existing in this fort to prove that it belongs to a very remote antiquity—the debris was not rich except in the bones of common animals. A class of men had made their habitation there for a time, living roughly, and leaving abundant evidence of their food, in the bones of pigs, sheep, and cattle. We thus find plenty of bones, but no human bones, and no trace of dwelling to constitute a great city. We have rather the contrary argument. Every trifle that has been found points to times that need not have preceded European history so far as the skill is concerned, and it is unscientific to imagine an age that is not demanded by the evidence."—(" Loch Etive and the sons of Usnoth," pp. 138-154. London. 1869.)

CHAPTER VI.

OSSIAN'S ALLUSIONS TO ROMAN HISTORY.

THE evidence of the authenticity of the era of "Ossian's Poems" rests on two alleged events in Roman classical history. *First,* on the alleged war of Fingal with Carracalla, the son of Severus; and, *second*, on the alleged war of Oscar, the grandson of Fingal, with Carausius, the Usurper.

In the revised edition of the "Poems of Ossian," 1773, Macpherson twice refers to Fingal's conflicts with Carracalla. *First*—in the dissertation on the era of "Ossian's Poems"—he says: "The exploits of Fingal against Carracalla, the son of Severus, are among the first brave actions of the youth—a complete poem, which relates to this subject, is printed in this collection." Again, he remarks: "The Caracul of Fingal is no other than Carracalla, the son of Severus, the emperor of Rome." *Second.* In the argument prefixed to "Comala," he says: "This poem is valuable on account of the light it throws on the antiquity of Ossian's compositions. The Caracul mentioned here is the same Carracalla, the son of Severus, who, in the year 211, commanded an expedition against the Caledonians."

The other event refers to Oscar's encounter with Carausius. In the dissertation, he says: "In one of the many lamentations on the death of Oscar, a battle which he fought against Caros, King of Ships, on the banks of the winding Carron, is mentioned among his great actions. It is more than probable that the Caros mentioned here is the same with the noted usurper Carausius, who assumed the purple in the year 287, and, seizing on Britain, defeated the Maximinian Herculius in several engagements. The winding Carron is the small river retaining still the name Carron, and runs in the neighbourhood of Agricola's wall, which Carausius repaired to obstruct the incursions of the Caledonians."

In the argument prefixed to the war of Caros, he again says, "Caros is probably the noted usurper Carausius. He repaired Agricola's wall in order to obstruct the invasions of the Caledonians; and when he was employed at that work it appears he was attacked by a party under the command of Oscar, the son of Ossian." And finally, he concludes as follows: "Several other passages in the translation allude to the wars of the Romans, but the two just mentioned clearly fix the epocha of Fingal to the third century; and this account agrees exactly with the Irish historians, which place the death of Fingal, the son of Comhal, in the year 283, and that of Oscar and their own celebrated Cairbre in the year 296." (Dissertations.)

In order to comprehend clearly the Roman boundaries in North Britain during the eras of Carracalla and Carausius, I shall here quote from Innes' Critical Essay of 1729, which says,

"1. In the year 81, Agricola raised a line of forts between the Friths of Forth and the Clyde."

"2. That frontier was quickly lost, and Hadrian thought proper, in the year 121, to build a wall between the Solway and the Tyne."

"3. Antonius Pius, about the year 140, recovered the first barrier, and built a wall between the Clyde and the Forth, which was soon after abandoned."

"4. In the year 210, Severus built a new wall between the Solway and the Tyne."

"5. In the year 367, the Emperor Valentinian I. sent his general, Theodosius, to Britain against the Picts and Scots, who not only repelled them, but seized on the lands between the walls, and erected them into a province by the name of Valentia; he strongly fortified its northern border between the Clyde and the Forth."

From this we see that the southern, and not the northern wall was the boundary between the Romans and Caledonians during the eras of Carracalla and Carausius. Severus arrived in Britain in the year 208. He constructed the wall from the Tyne to the Solway before, rather than after, he entered Caledonia. (Chal. Cal., Vol. I., Book I., p. 188.)

In 209 he began his march to the north—and, it is said, carried everything before him—as far as the Cromarty and Moray friths, then returned to York, and died there on 4th February, 211.

Carracalla, or rather Basianus, his eldest son, was entrusted with the conduct of the war, but rather than execute his father's orders, attempted more than once to shorten his days, and busied himself in trying to gain over the soldiers to support him as sole successor to the throne against the claim of his brother, Geta. In one short season he concluded some sort of peace with the Caledonians, relinquishing the territories which they had surrendered to his father, and abandoned the forts which had been erected in their fastnesses apparently without striking a single blow.

In the preface to the dramatic poem of "Comala," Macpherson says: "This poem is valuable on account of the light it throws on the antiquity of Ossian's compositions."

It would be inferred from this that Ossian had been an eyewitness to the famous battle, and personally knew Carracalla, or he would not have woven his name into the poem, yet, strange to say, we are told by Gibbon that Carracalla was not known by this name till he had quitted Britain for ever. Gibbon's words are: "Basianus was his first name, as it had been that of his maternal grandfather. During his reign he assumed the appellation of that of Antoninus. After his death, which took place in the year 217, the public indignation loaded him with the nickname, Carracalla, which was borrowed from a Gallic gown which he distributed to the publics of Rome."—(Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I., ch. vi., foot note.)

Thus the alleged exploits of Fingal against Carracalla, who was not known in Britain by this name, are not founded on fact, but are simply after thoughts of Macpherson wherewith to prop up a fable.

Macpherson apparently followed Buchanan, who was deceived by the fabulous Nennius of the ninth century, who has placed the wall of Severus between the Forth and the Clyde, with a garrison at Carron.—(Laing.)

I come now to examine the second Roman allusion, that of the conflict of the Emperor Carausius with Oscar the son of Ossian, on the banks of the Carron.

We have seen above where Macpherson says: " The winding Carron is the small river retaining still the name Carron, and runs in the neighbourhood of Agricola's wall, which Carausius repaired to obstruct the incursions of the Caledonians. When he was employed at this work it appears he was attacked by a party under the command of Oscar, the son of Ossian." Gibbon tells us that Carausius defended his dominions against the Caledonians of the North.—(Vol. II. ch. xiii.) But we have already seen that between the years 210 and 367, the wall of Severus, which extended from the Solway to the Tyne, was the Roman frontier on the north, during which time no attempt was made by Carausius, or by any other Roman potentate, to regain or repair the wall of Agricola, and there is not a shred of proof that Carausius ever put his foot on Scottish soil; in short, the crafty usurper had more than enough to do nearer home in retaining his position and ill-gotten wealth during the seven years he was in power.

Had Macpherson omitted all reference to classical history, which is silent on this subject, and confined his proof to that of the Irish Seanachies, this controversy would have ended long ago; but, however distasteful for some to own, classical history must be shunted aside, and Irish Romances of the Middle Ages substituted in its stead as the only foundation of "Ossian's Poems."

CHAPTER VII.

THE DRUIDS.

THERE are few theories that have taken such a hold on the minds of civilised nations as the fragmentary notices of the Druids by the classical writers.

In the British Isles, if we survey our historic literature, we find it alleged that the foundations of our civil and Christian polity were built on the ruins of their system, and have superseded their order.

It is said that this ancient caste was divided into three classes, namely, Druids, Vates, and Bards; the Bards were poets and musicians, the Vates were priests and physiologists, and the Druids were those who combined the study of nature with that of moral science; that they had one chief or arch-druid, who acted as high priest and possessed absolute authority over the rest; that their pupils were taught the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the magnitude of the heavens and of the earth, and the wisdom and power of the immortal gods.

With this ancient order James Macpherson connects his Ossianic poetry. In his "Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian" he describes the fall of the Druids in Scotland, saying, "The most ancient form of government in Caledonia was a mixture of monarchy and aristocracy, as was in all countries where the Druids bore the chief sway. The chiefs were allowed to execute the laws, but the legislative power was entirely in the hands of the Druids, the temporary king was chosen by them, and generally laid down his office at the end of the war. The continual wars of the Caledonians against the Romans in the second century strengthened the interest of the king or magistrate among the tribes, and enabled him to send down as hereditary to his posterity the office he had received by election. The Druids, to vindicate the honour of their order, begun to assume their ancient privilege of choosing the Vergobretus or president. Garmel, the son of Tarno, being deputed by them, came to the grandfather of the celebrated Fingal, who was then Vergobretus, and commanded him to lay down his office. Upon his refusal, a civil war commenced, which soon ended in almost the total extinction of the religion of the Druids.

"The poems that celebrate Trathul and Cormac, ancestors of Fingal, are full of particulars concerning the fall of the Druids, which accounts for the total silence concerning their religion in the Poems of Ossian."

The description given here of the Druids by Macpherson is very plausible, and smacks of an air of antiquity by the borrowed phrases of the Vergobretus of Roman history, and the imaginary name of Garmel, the son of Tarno, being introduced as a Druid functionary. For proof of these events we are referred to Macpherson's "Ossian" and Smith's "Sean Dana," which is nothing short of reasoning in a circle, from which I pass at present.

I shall now look more minutely for the evidence of the Druidic existence in the British Isles. Instead of examining the subject in a general way, I purpose to divide my enquiry into three special heads. *First*—Elicit the evidence of the existence of the Druids in South Britain. *Second*—the evidence of their existence in Ireland; and *Third*—the evidence of their existence in North Britain.

THE DRUIDS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Of late many have undertaken to write the history of the Druids in the British Isles. Chief among these writers are John Tolland ("History of the Druids," London, 1747); Rev. Henry Rolland ("Antiquities of Anglesay," Dublin, 1723); Rev. Edward Davies ("Mythology and Rites of the Druids," London, 1809). To these may be added Rev. John Smith, Campbeltown ("History of the Druids,") Colonel Vallancey, Sir William Betham, and many others.

These learned men have made many references to what the classical writers say concerning the Druids, mentioning such as Pliny, Lucan, Valerius, Maximus, Pomponius Mela, Diogenes Laertius, Ansonius, Amianus Marcellanus, Popiscus, Elianus Lamphridius, Tacitus, Diodorus, Strabo, Aurelius Victor, Seneca, Ovid, Cicero, and Cæsar.

A learned author says, with respect to these classical authors, "Their notices of the Druids are very slender and casual, yet it is from these slender materials that a system has been erected; conjecture serving to fill the vacancies, and assertions being substituted for evidence." (M'Culloch's Western Highlands, Vol. III., p. 251.)

This array of classical writers, with the exception of Julius Cæsar and Tacitus, are all silent about the British Druids.

I come now to enquire of these two historians what evidence they have of the existence of the Druids in the British Isles. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, gives a graphic description of Britain and its people (Book V., ch. X.); but though he could boast that he came, saw, and conquered it (in 55 B.C.), yet he does not seem to have seen or heard of a Druid while there. It was some time afterwards, while sojourning in Gaul, that he wrote a description of the Druids, and his information regarding them at best must have been a loose *hear-say*. In speaking of their sacred places, he says, "Once a year they assemble at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, whose country is *supposed* to be in the middle of Gaul." His reference to their connection with Britain is nearly as indefinite. "Their institution," he says, "is *supposed* to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul, and even at this day such as are desirous of being perfect in it travel thither for instruction." (Book VI., chap. XIII.)

The other classical authority is Tacitus, the Roman historian, Referring to the Druids, he says, "Seutonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command in Britain in the sixty-first year of the Christian era. He was an officer of distinguished merit and ambition. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons, he hoped to equal the brilliant success of the Roman general Corbula, in Armenia; with this view, he resolved to subdue the isle of Mona (or Anglesay), a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge to the discontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording, and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain on the island. On the opposite shores were the Britons, close embodied and prepared for action, while women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder, their apparel funereal, their hair loose in the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the furies. The Druids were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror; they stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed; rivetted to one spot; a mark for the enemy. The exhortation of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women and a band of frantic priests; they advanced their standards and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In these recesses the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods." (Bk. XIV.)

On this burst of rhetoric rests *the sole proof* of the existence of the Druids in South Britain.

In order to comprehend this event, we shall take a retrospective view of the Roman occupation of Britain till the final subjugation of Mona. We have already seen that Cæsar overcame South Britain 55 years before the Christian era, but his victories were not followed up for nearly a century thereafter. It was during the reign of Claudian, in the forty-third year of the Christian era, that the second army was sent to Britain, under the command of Aulus Platius, who gained some victories and made considerable progress in civilising the inhabitants of the plain, but the independent tribes of the highlands of Wales still resisted the foreign yoke. Thither they were assailed seven years afterwards by Ostorius Scapula, who defeated the Silures of South Wales in a great battle on the banks of the Severn.

Between the years 50 and 78 A.D. ten Roman generals governed South Britain in succession, and their only battle ground during that time seems to have been among the hills of Wales. In the year 50 A.D., as I have remarked, Ostorius Scapula fought with the Silures. In 61 A.D., Seutonius Paulinus fought with the Ordericans in North Wales, ending his campaign with the massacre of the inhabitants of Mona. In 74 A.D., Julius Frontinus fought with the Silures, and in 78 A.D., Julius

Agricola finally subdued the Ordericans, including the inhabitants of the island of Mona.

We thus see that the brave native Britons found to their cost that the fastnesses of the hills of Wales were not a safe refuge from the disciplined Roman invaders, and, as a last resort, they seem to have betaken themselves for safety to the island of Mona. Thither they were pursued by Seutonius Paulinus and cruelly massacred, as we have already seen.

It is curious, and rather important to remark, that Tacitus, who is generally clear and exact in his Annals, gives a very contradictory account of this event. He tells us first that Paulinus resolved to subdue the isle of Mona, a place inhabited by a warlike people and a common refuge of all the discontented Britons, yet in the next part of the account the invaders seemed to have met with no resistance whatever from the warlike people—"the Romans felt the disgrace," he says, "of yielding to a troop of women and a band of frantic priests." (Tacitus' Annals, Book XIV., ch. xxix.)

It is obvious that the real object of Paulinus in crossing the Menai Straits was to subdue the discontented and warlike Britons who had fled there. Shortly after this massacre, Boadicea, queen of the Icenians (in the south-east of Britain), revolted against the Roman yoke, and Paulinus was recalled from Mona to quell her insurrection, and left the conquest of the island half finished. The final subjugation of Mona was accomplished by Julius Agricola, who invaded the island in almost the same manner as Paulinus had done seventeen years previously. The result was that "the inhabitants were overcome, sued for peace, and surrendered their island." (Tacitus' Life of Agricola, S. 18.)

The query is, how did Tacitus receive his information regarding the Druids of Mona? He could not have it direct, as he does not seem to have been nearer the scene than Belgium, where he was Quæstor some time afterwards; neither could he have derived it from his father-in-law, who finally subdued the island, as Agricola makes no mention of Druidism there. The most likely source would be from the perpetrator of the bloody deed—the cruelty of which required an ample excuse, and nothing would be more palliative than the story of the overthrow of the Druids, who were then in bad repute among Roman writers.

It is singular that Stonehenge, the greatest monument of alleged Druidism in Britain, which is within eighty miles of London, and must have been known to the Romans from their first landing, should have been entirely ignored, and that the honour of the seat of Druidism should be conferred on Mona, whose Druidical remains are as molehills compared with the cyclopean monuments of Stonehenge.

The term Druid is said to have been derived from the Celtic word *Draoi*, or the Greek *Drus*—both signifying an oak. It is also supposed that *Draoi* or *Druid* signified the man of the oak. We further learn that the Druids were in the habit of practising augury, magic and lots, as also of offering human sacrifices; that in immolating their victims they were in the habit of exploring their entrails in order to find out the will of the gods; that they resorted to the most dense oak forests to screen their dark deeds and make the gloom of the situation more awe-inspiring to the people; thither the Arch-Druid appeared once a year in his white surplice, with a golden sickle to prune the mistletoe from the ancient oaks. But in Mona we fail to find any indication of this situation; it has no such forest, and, according to every appearance, never had, it being a bare island, stretching out and exposed to the influence of the Gulf Stream, which is so uncongenial to the growth of forests in our western islands.

Under all these circumstances, we lack any proof of the existence of the Druids in South Britain, and the endless references to them may with propriety be relegated to the regions of classical fictions.

THE DRUIDS OF IRELAND.

To follow the voluminous writings of Tolland, Vallancey, Betham, and others about the superstitions of Ireland would be lost labour, for which I will give three reasons.

First. The term *Druid* or *Draoi* has a loose and indefinite meaning in the Irish language. In the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, translated by Bedel and O'Donnel we find this term given to various forms of superstition, viz., *Charmer*—"The voice of the charmer" (Psalm lviii. 5), *guth na ndruaigh; Divination* — "Reward of divination" (Numbers xxii. 7), *tioghlaithidh na draoidheachda; Enchantment*—"Their enchantments" (Exodus viii. 7), *le na ndroigheachd; Magic*—"Magicians of Egypt" (Exodus vii. 11) *draoithe na Hegipt; Sorcery*—"Elymas the sorcerer" (Acts xiii. 8), *Elimas an Draoi; Wise men*—"There came wise men from the east (Matthew ii. 1), *tangadar draoithe i naird shoir.* We thus see that the term is so flexible as to suit any phase of superstition, which will account for its general use in the traditions of the Irish people.

Second. Irish Druidism as such had not the most remote resemblance to the Druidic system of the classical writers—the religion of the latter is that of horrid cruelty, whereas the introduction of Christianity into Ireland suffered no persecution. Gerald of Wales, a writer of the twelfth century, taunts the Irish for having no martyrs to boast of. He says, "None of their saints cemented the foundation of the growing Church with their blood; all of them were confessors, and not one able to boast of the crown of martyrdom. (Top. Hib., dis. 3, c. 29.)

Third. According to Cæsar, it was a maxim of the Druids not to commit their instructions to writing, and that for two reasons: the first because they did not wish that the knowledge of their system should be diffused among the people; and secondly, their pupils having no books to refer to might bestow more pains in cultivating their memories. (Cæsar's Wars of Gaul, Vol. I., 13.)

Yet, in Ireland, John Tolland, in his history of the Druids, tells that Dudley Firbis, a famous antiquary of the seventeenth century (1688), affirms that in Saint Patric's time no fewer than 180 volumes relating to the affairs of the Druids were burnt in Ireland. Tolland, in another place, quoting from a Dr. Kennedy, says that St. Patric burnt 300 volumes stuffed with the fables and superstition of heathen idolatry; unfit to be transmitted to posterity.—(Toll. Hist. Druids, Vol. I., pp. 57-8. London, 1747.)

The only inference that can be drawn from this is—if there were real Druids in Ireland they would have no books, but as they had books they could not be Druids.

THE DRUIDS IN SCOTLAND.

Spottiswoode, in his Church History, is among the first that gives a description of the Druids in North Britain. He says: "King Cratilinth, coming to the Crown of Scotland in the year 277 A.D., made it his first work to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition and expulse the Druids, a sort of priests held in those days in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate sacrifices, and perform other rites in groves with leaves and branches of oak, and thence Pliny saith they were called Druids, for *Drus* in the Greek language doth signify an oak. They lived in great respect with all the people, and ruled their affairs very politicly; for, being governed by a president, who kept his residence in the Isle of Man, they did once every year meet in a place to take counsel together for the ordering of their affairs, and carried matters with such discretion that Cratilinth found it dificil enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the people."—(Spot. Chur. Hist., Vol. I. chap. i., pp. 4-5.)

There is a discrepancy among historians as to the year in which Cratilinth began to reign. Buchanan makes it 184, and Spottiswoode 277 in the Christian era. But passing from this nicety, the query is, was King Cratilinth a reality or a myth? This name is only found in two of the old Scottish Chronicles of 1165 and 1185, giving the genealogies of King William the Lion.

These genealogies were amplified into history by Fordon, Boece, and others, who were followed by Buchanan and Spottiswoode, who gave these fables currency until Father Innes published his Critical Essay in 1729, which exploded the fables of the early kings of Scotland, among whom is King Cratilinth.

Passing from the age of fables to that of authentic history, I now come to refer to a name that is well known and often quoted in early history—the name of Saint Columba.

This famous man is reputed to have converted the Picts of Caledonia from Druidism to Christianity, this being the climax of Saint Columba's mission to Scotland. Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians vie with each other in claiming the saint and his success in Scotland as their own.

Many histories and biographies of the Saint have been written. Dr. Smith says: "After Columba's death, an account of his life has been written by many of his friends and disciples, nine of these are enumerated by Dempster, and the list is increased by Colgan. None of the writings are now extant except those of Cumin and Adomnan. But five or six of them are frequently quoted by Magnus O'Donnellus, a nobleman of Tirconnel, who in the year 1520 compiled a long account of the life of Saint Columba from such monuments as were then extant. This account, which was written in the Irish language, was afterwards abridged and translated into Latin by J. Colgan, an Irish friar, who published it in 1647 in his "Trias-Thaumaturga." (Appendix, Smith's Life of Saint Columba, Edinburgh, 1798.)

Unhappily, it seems not to have been the object of his early biographers to delineate the real life and character of the saint, but to give a marvellous detail of visions, prophecies, and miracles, which they boldly ascribe to him. His Irish biographers seem to have been the most extravagant. Count de Montalembert, in his book, "The Monks of the West," speaks of the fabulous legends and apocryphal and childish miracles with which Irish historians have filled out the glorious story of the great missionary." (Vol. III., p. 233, Edin. 1867.)

In a footnote, the same writer adds, "The Bollandists, compilers of the lives of the saints, protested with great energy and repeatedly against the Irish fables, which they, nevertheless, thought themselves obliged to reproduce."—Ib., p. 234.

Recent historians seldom refer to his biographers of the middle ages, but invariably quote from his Life written in Latin by two of his successors in the Abbey of Iona, namely, Cumin and Adomnan. Cumin, the *Fair*, was the eighth abbot of Iona; he wrote the life of the saint about the year 657 A.D., or 62 years after his death, and Adomnan, the tenth abbot, wrote his history thirty-eight years later, or about 100 years after the death of Saint Columba. (Reeves' Life of Columba, App. to Pref. 40-9.)

Both their biographies, I presume, were from materials preserved in Iona, which appear to have been carefully treasured there until the invasions of the Norwegians about the end of the eighth century, when we read of the shrines and relics of

Callumkille being often carried to and from Ireland for safety. (Ann. Ulst. & Tigh.)

Cumin having thus preceded Adomnan as abbot of Iona, he would have those materials for his history fresh before him; he would also have come into contact with many living people who had been witnesses of the life and labours of Columba, but who must have passed away before Adomnan wrote his memoir. Yet with all the advantages that Cumin had over Adomnan, he makes not a single reference to the saint's journey to Inverness, the conversion of the Picts, or the overthrow of Broichan the Druid. These marvels being the climax of Columba's mission to Scotland, if they had been known in Cumin's time he would not have overlooked them.

Dr. M'Lauchlan, in his Church History, is surprised at this omission. He says, "It is a curious thing that Cumin the *Fair,* in his Life of Columba, and he wrote at an earlier period than Adomnan, makes no mention of the conversion of the Pictish king—his silence on this subject is very remarkable. Whether really the mission of the Pictish king assumed less dimensions in the days of the immediate successors of the saint, or whether Cumin judged nothing worthy of relation but miracles, it is hard to say." (The Early Scottish Church, p. 155. Edin. 1865.)

This conjecture of the Doctor will not hold good. Although Cumin abounded in the marvellous, he did not forget mundane affairs. In chapter XXV. of his biography he says, "Columba appeared to King Oswald when sleeping on a pillow in his hut, while hesitating in a state of readiness for war, and ordered him to proceed to battle (against Catlon, king of the Britons). The king obeyed, and gained the victory, and returning afterwards is ordained by God Emperor of all Britain; so that whole race, formerly unbelieving, is baptised." Columba is also said to foretell, in same chapter, the success of King Aidan in the battle of the Miathi, but he never refers to Brude, king of the Picts, Broichan his Druid, or the river Ness." (Life of Columba by Cumin—Pinkerton's.)

It is true that Bede refers to the conversion of the Picts, but he never refers to the Druids. Adomnan and his translators are the only authorities of Saint Columba's journey to Inverness, to his discomfiture there of Briochan the Druid, and to his conversion of King Brude, &c.

There are legions of miracles ascribed by Adomnan to Columba, but they are all paltry compared with the stupendous wonders he performed at Inverness—among which he restored a dead boy to life; calmed storms; by making the sign of the cross the gate of the fortification of Brude, with its iron locks and bars, spontaneously flew open, when forth came Brude the son of Mailcon, with Broichan the Druid, to argue with the saint about Paganism, when the king and the Pictish nation were speedily converted to Christianity.

In part first I have referred to three grave doubts about Adomnan's account of Saint Columba's journey to Inverness, to which the reader can refer.

Upon this fable of Columba's journey to Inverness, bearing on the potent King Brude—with his royal palace and pompous retinue, blended with Bede's allegation of his having given Iona to Columba—rests the corner-stone of Dr. Skene's theories about the Pictish kingdom.

Recently Dr. Reeves, Dr. Skene, and others, have been oscillating from side to side of the valley of the Ness in search of the famous castle of King Brude; at one time at Caisteal Spioradan, at another at Craigphadric, and last of all at Torvean, but all their discoveries are yet confined to their fertile imaginations.

The term "Druid," especially when engrafted in the topography of the country, is considered by many of importance to prove their existence in Scotland; but I have observed above that the term was applied by the Irish to charms, divinations, enchantments, magic, sorcery, and wisdom. The translators of the Scottish Gaelic Scriptures have adopted these definitions as their own, and have added to this black category that of witchcraft. "O! foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" (ch. iii. v. 1.) "*O a Ghalatianaich amaideach co chuir druidheachd oirbh?*" Thus making the term applicable to any and every superstition, which makes it not difficult to account for the occasional use of this term in our Scottish topography.

We thus see that the Druids of the classics are unknown in Scotland. No trace of their oak groves or of their bloody deeds is found there.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BARDS.

THE believers in the authenticity of "Ossian's Poems," reasoning from analogy, see a close resemblance in the transmission of Homer's and Ossian's poems. They say the account which Ælian, the Greek historian, gives of the original transmission of the poetry of Homer is in keeping with the way the ballads of Ossianic poetry were handed down to recent times. "The ancients," Ælian tells us, "sung and recited the poems of Homer from 1213 to 710 B.C. At the latter date they were collected by Lycurgus, the Spartan, in his travels in Ionia, and by him carried to Greece." He also says that they had originally been recited in detached pieces till about 150 years after Lycurgus' time, when they were arranged by Pisistratus in the form of the Iliad and Odyssey."—(Dr. Graham's Essay, pp. 79-80. Edinburgh, 1807.)

In like manner, that the order of the Bards of Scotland had been co-eval with that of the Druids of the third century; but when the power and influence of the latter disappeared on the elevation of Trenmor, the grandfather of Fingal, in these parts, the Bards survived their fall, and in a greater or less degree performed their functions in the Highlands till last century—that these Bards left behind them many heroic tales relative to Fionn and other historical heroes, various parts of the tales they had versified, and brought down by tradition the Poems of Ossian the son of Fionn; that from the Bards the people learned these stories and poems, which they in their turn sang and rehearsed to one another, until James Macpherson, in 1760-2, performed the double part of Lycurgus and Pisistratus in collecting and forming them into the epic poems of "Fingal," "Temora," &c.

These analogies are plausible if sufficient evidence was forthcoming. The proof of the transmission of Homer rests with the traditions of the Greeks, and of Ossian with James Macpherson and his abettors.

I shall now examine the evidence of the antiquity of the language, and afterwards the literature of the Highland Bards.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE BARDIC LANGUAGE.

Regarding the antiquity of the language of "Ossian's Poems" by Macpherson, I may remark that they contain a great amount of indefinite ideas; but as regards the language any ordinarily educated Highlander can comprehend it without much difficulty. It is totally different with many of the heroic Gaelic ballads, collected by the Highland Society and others, the most of them not older than the fifteenth century, yet, without a good Irish dictionary, an ordinary Highland scholar could neither make head nor tail of them. From this comparison a simple proposition might be started—namely, If language written within the last four hundred years be incomprehensible to ordinary educated Highlanders, how much more so would be the language of Ossian, written fifteen hundred years ago? To this it is replied: "It is not fair to put the matter in this way, as neither Macpherson nor his friends ever asserted that the Ossianic poems were *written* at that early period. They merely assert that they were composed at that date, and that for many generations they were transmitted by oral traditions before being committed to writing—that their oral descent may, therefore, account for the language of the poems not being antiquated, for, if they were transmitted until a comparatively recent period by oral tradition, we need not expect to find in them many words and phrases in use fifteen hundred years ago, but now obsolete; that the language of the poems would undoubtedly change considerably in the course of transmission, although the sentiments might be pretty well preserved.

This line of reasoning is only begging the question. The query is, when and by whom were the "Poems of Ossian," said to be composed in the third century, committed to writing? If by the Bards before they were expelled from the houses of their chiefs three ages ago, as Macpherson says, then the remains of "Ossian's Poems" are like the baseless fabric of a vision, which leaves not a wrack behind. But if after their expulsion, I will leave Macpherson's friends to solve how the sentiments of Ossian could be retained independent of his language. In a note to "Cath Loda" (Canto I., pp. 202-3. Perth, 1795), he tells us: "After the expulsion of the Bards from the houses of their chiefs, they, being an indolent race of men, owed all their subsistence to the generosity of the vulgar, whom they diverted with repeating the compositions of their predecessors, and running up the genealogies of their entertainers to the families of their chiefs. As this subject was, however, soon exhausted, they were obliged to have recourse to invention, and form stories *having no foundation in fact*, which were swallowed with great credulity by an ignorant multitude. By frequent repetition the fables grew on their hands, and, as each threw in whatever circumstances he thought conducive to raise the admiration of his hearers, the story became at last so devoid of probability that even the vulgar themselves did not believe it. They, however, liked the tale so well that the Bards found it to their advantage in turning professed tale-makers. They then launched out in the wildest regions of fiction and romance."

Macpherson, who is generally admitted to have been very imperfectly acquainted with old Gaelic MSS., must have been more than human when he could trace the sentiments of the veritable language of Ossian, spoken in the third century, out of "*the regions of romance and fiction, having no foundation in fact.*" Yet this was the feat he undertook to perform, and which he pretended to have accomplished.

THE LITERATURE OF THE HIGHLAND BARDS.

Dr. Johnson, in his "Journey to the Highlands," says, "After the Bards were some of my first enquiries. Where the chiefs of the Highlands had found the histories of their descent it is difficult to tell, for no Erse genealogy was ever written. Neither Bards nor Seanachies could write or read. The Erse language was the rude speech of a barbarous people, who had few words to express, and were content as they conceived grossly to be grossly understood. Many will startle when they are told that the Erse never was a written language; that there is not in the world a manuscript a hundred years old."

That the Erse or Gaelic language was never written is one of the learned Doctor's strong assertions which is groundless; for it is well known that there were many Gaelic MSS. existing at that time, not only one hundred, but several hundreds of years old; but as regards the learning of the Bards and Seanachies, and their connection with these MSS., this is a different matter, which I shall now refer to.

During the whole range of Ossianic controversy, the only family of Bards cited, claiming a hereditary antiquity, is that of the M'Vurichs, the Bards of Clanranald. They are said to have been for nineteen generations Bards of that clan previous to the publication of the "Poems of Ossian," and that the family had a book transcribed from age to age, called "*An Leabhar Dearg,*" or "The Red Book" of Clanranald; that it was written in the old Gaelic or Irish character, and contained a record of this and other Highland clans, together with a part of the works of Ossian; that this book had been given to James Macpherson when collecting Ossian's poems, and that it disappeared along with Macpherson's other original MSS.

This being the only family of Bards quoted to prove the antiquity of their order and to establish the authenticity of "Ossian's Poems," it will be seen that their history is a very insufficient evidence to bridge over fifteen hundred years. In short, it is worthy of remark that Clanranald was but a branch of the Macdonalds of the Isles. Ranald, the founder of the clan, was third son of John of Isla, who first assumed the title of Lord of the Isles, and died in 1380.

We have sufficient evidence that there were Gaelic MSS. containing prose and poetry long previous to the origin of the Clanranald family, and the query is, What was the nature of their contents?—by whom were they written?—and where were they found?

I am safe in saying that nine-tenths of the Scotch Gaelic MSS. now known have been found in Argyleshire, and can be satisfactorily traced to the monasteries there. The west Highland monasteries in these parts imitated closely the literature of the religious houses of Ireland. Each monastery in Ireland had its special Book, such as "The Book of Ballymote," "The Book of Leccan," "The Book of Leinster," &c., &c.

The contents of the Book of one monastery to a great extent were but the counterpart of those of another monastery. Professor Sullivan, in his article on Celtic literature in the Encyclopædia of Arts, Edinburgh, 1876, says, "The contents of Irish manuscripts are of the most miscellaneous character, in fact, many of them are mere scrap books. The following classification will enable the reader to form some notion of the existing Irish literature:—(1) Grammar and Glossaries; (2) Annals, Genealogies, and Pedigrees; (3) History, legendary and real, including a large number of narrative poems, some of which might be considered to be ballads and prose tales; (4) Mythological and other imaginary tales; (5) Lyric Poetry; (6) Satire; (7) Religious Literature, including the lives of the Saints; (8) Law; (9) Science, including Medicine; and (10) Miscellaneous translations from other languages."

(1) In comparing Scotch with Irish manuscripts, the first Book I shall mention is that of the Dean of Lismore, which is the most complete miscellaneous Gaelic manuscript in Scotland. The contents of its index are a counterpart of Professor Sullivan's description of Irish literature. The only difference between them is that the Dean's MS., instead of being in the Irish or Gaelic character, is written in the crank hand of the fifteenth century, and also that it is spelled phonetically. Its resemblance to the Irish MSS. would be better seen if Dr. Maclauchlan had published in 1862 the whole MS., instead of selections from its contents; but the Doctor had good reasons for confining himself to selections, as we are told by a recent author that the MS. is disfigured by several compositions which are too gross to utter, being by indecency and by satire on women both coarse and bitter. (Dr. Arch. Clark's Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian. Edinburgh, 1870.)

Passing over these blemishes, the old sources of the Dean's MS. may be traced to the seminary which bears its name.

In the year 1230 or 1231, the Priory of Ardchattan was founded for monks of the order of Vallis Caulium, by Dunkan Mak Dougall, the head of the great family of the Lords of Lorn. Afterwards it was resolved to remove the seat of this fraternity, probably for security, to the island of Lismore, when it was endowed by Eugeneus, the son of Dunkan. Dean Macgregor, no doubt, found the matter of the older part of his book in this seminary, but having these MSS. written and spelled differently from the Gaelic MSS. of that early period, made it his own, otherwise his collection might be called "The Book of Ardchattan and Lismore."

(2) The second collection of Gaelic MSS. I shall name is that possessed by the late Major M'Lachlan of Kilbride, near Oban. It is supposed that the older and more valuable portion of this collection, containing Irish romances and allusions to Ossianic poetry, was originally found in Iona, as a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard Maclachlan, was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona in commendam from 1530 to 1544. From the era of Saint Columba till near the Reformation, as may be seen in the Annals of Ulster, Tighernac, and later writers, there was a close intercourse between the seminary of Iona and Ireland, which will account for Irish documents being found there. Major M'Lachlan's MSS. eclipse all other collections in Scotland in respect of numbers and variety, and they may generally be styled "The Manuscripts of Iona."

(3) In the next chapter I shall describe at length the Glenmasan manuscript—tracing its discovery, the nature of its contents, its transmission and transcribers—and shall endeavour to shew that it was written by the monks of the collegiate church of Kilmun. This valuable manuscript may be styled "The Remains of the Book of the Monks of Kilmun."

(4) The fourth and last collection of Gaelic manuscripts I shall name is the "Red Book of Clanranald." Lachlan M'Vurich, the nineteenth bard of Clanranald, declared that the object of his family in writing the Red Book was to preserve the history of the Macdonalds and other clans, together with the works of Ossian.

I have already mentioned that the origin of Clanranald dated only from the end of the fourteenth century; consequently, without older documents, this was not the time or date to trace the illustrious house of the Macdonalds to its foundation. The natural place to obtain the original records of this family was in the monastery of Saddell in Kintyre, which was founded by Somerled, Thane of Argyle, the progenitor of this family, and it was lavishly endowed by Reginald, Donald, and Angus, his lineal descendants, as may be seen in the chartulary of Paisley. These MacVurichs tell us in their traditions that Reginald the son of Somerled founded a monastery for grey friars in Sagadal in Kintyre.

We see here the foundation of the MacVurich's MSS. treating of the origin of this seminary, and may therefore conclude that they received their original information there, and that their MS. was founded on "The Book of the Monks of Saddell."

We have here our oldest Gaelic manuscripts traced to the ancient monasteries of the west of Scotland, namely Iona, Saddell, Lismore, and Kilmun.

Regarding the authorship of these manuscripts, with their allusions to Ossianic poetry, it is worthy of note that the oldest Gaelic manuscript in Scotland contains a copy of the central heroic tale of Ireland, called the "*Tain bo Cuilgne*," or "The Cattle Spoil of Cuilgne," this being a mythological tale of the septennial wars between Connaught and Ulster, and the chief heroic names in this Scotch Ossianic poetry are found in the "Tain" and its appendages.

The history of the authorship of the "Tain" is rather apocryphal, but is ultimately traced to the cloister—one tradition ascribes it to Senachan Torpost, a bard who flourished about the year 600. It is said when Senachan, with the three chief bards of Ireland, was called to relate the tale of the "Tain," they acknowledged themselves ignorant of it, but two of their number, having repaired to the grave of Fergus MacRoich, whom they invoked, appeared at the end of three days in awful majesty and related the tale from beginning to end. (H. S.

Report.) Another tradition assigns the work to St. Ciaran of Clon-mac-noise; there is also a portion of it in the "Book of the Dun Cow," but the "Book of Leinster," which is more modern, contains the whole story.

From the foregoing we find our ancient Gaelic literature traced, not to bards, but to Scoto-Irish monks. From the similarity of the books ascribed to each monastery, we may form an idea of the kind of learning taught in these centres of education. In course of time the poems and tales taught within spread beyond their pale, were brought down by oral tradition, the heroic characters became identified with the topography of the districts in which they were related, and the phraseology was continually undergoing changes, according to the degree of memory, fancy, or intelligence of the Seanachie.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GLENMASAN MANUSCRIPT.

THIS manuscript has been more often referred to than any other bearing on the authenticity of the "Poems of Ossian."

The other kindred heroic tales and poems are so uncertain in their dates, so indefinite as to the names of persons and places, and, having no confirmation from contemporary annals, cannot be considered history. But the great antiquity of the Glenmasan manuscript is universally owned, and the place-names in the poem of Deirdri are pretty easily recognised.

This chapter I shall divide into four sections.

Section First describes the Glenmasan manuscript—its discovery—appearance—antiquity—and transmission to modern times.

Section Second describes the Collegiate Church of Kilmun—its patron saint and founders.

Section Third describes the popularity of the tale of Deirdri, and gives the several versions of her valedictory poem and versified tale.

Section Fourth states the futile attempts to connect the names in the tale and poem of Deirdri with the history of the Picts before the arrival of the Scots in Argyle.

Section First.

THE GLENMASAN MANUSCRIPT.

This manuscript was accidentally discovered by Lord Bannatyne of Kames, in the district of Cowal. In a letter to Mr. Henry MacKenzie, chairman of the Highland Society, Lord Kames says: "I took occasion, on going to the Circuit at Inveraray, to call on the Rev. John Mackinnon, of Glendaruel, and asked him if he had seen the Kilbride MSS. He told me he had not, but that he had by him a Gaelic MS., got from the country people in the neighbourhood, which appeared to him very ancient, and though he could not easily read it, on account of its numerous contractions, he found it to contain histories, tales, and poems."—(H. S. Report, pp. 282-3.)

This ancient document is now deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Through the kindness of the librarian, I was permitted several years ago to look over its pages. In its present state it contains twenty-five large quarto leaves of strong vellum, besides the skin cover. Its pages are divided into columns extending in all to ninety-six and two halves, about thirty-eight lines to the column. Some of the leaves are rudely stuck together, and some are misplaced, others are much injured by improper keeping, and it is probable some of the leaves are lost, but where the parchment has been well preserved the text is sufficiently legible. It is closely and beautifully written, and the character of the writing is the Celtic style of the thirteenth century, which abounds in contractions. The late Mr. Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, pronounced it of that era, and so did Mr. Astle, in his specimen of the origin of writing, class this style as of that period.—(See Table XXII., p. 128. London, 1784.)

Regarding its transmission, the editor of H. S. Report, says, "It appears from a note on the margin of the fifteenth leaf of the MS. that it formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalavich, who was a native of Cowal, and to whom it had descended, perhaps from his granduncle, Mr. Robert Campbell, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to the Archæologia of Mr. Edward Lloyd. (p. 297.)

It will further indicate the transmission of this document to give a brief account of these two gentlemen. In Scott's "Fasti" we find the following notice of Mr. William Campbell:—"William Campbell, son of William Campbell, minister of Kilmodan, licensed by the Presbytery of Dunoon, 19 June, 1740, and ordained by them 7 June, 1743, as missionary of Strachur, presented to the parish of Kilchrenan and Dalavich by Archibald, Duke of Argyle, in July, 1744, and admitted 17 July, 1745, died 26 September, 1793, in his 80th year and 51st of his ministry; he inherited, but did not assume, the title of Campbell of Ardkinlas, Bart." In this short biography we learn that the Rev. Mr. Campbell was born and bred in Glendaruel, and that he was heir to the title of Ardkinlas, consequently his granduncle would be of the same stock.

The Argyle family were in the habit of appointing the younger members of the proprietors in Cowal as the chief keepers of the forest of Benmore. Mr. Robert Campbell was of their number. Prefixed to his complimentary address to Mr. Edward Lloyd, we find him styling himself "*Raibert Caimbeul, Fear Fairiste Mhic Chailean, an Comhal, C.C.*" That is, "Robert Campbell, Forester to Campbell of Argyle, in Cowal, Sang." * Robert Campbell is written in a beautiful hand on the MS., and, besides the two Campbells, several other names are scrawled on it. I come now to show the connection of the Campbells of Ardkinlas with the parish of Kilmun. After the college of Kilmun was endowed by Sir Duncan Campbell in 1442, the Campbells got a firm footing in Cowal, and before the Reformation they were paramount there, and had royal favours conferred on Kilmun. In the year 1550, we find Archibald, Master of Argyle, with the consent of Earl Archibald, his father, renewing a grant of Ardnadam, Dunlosken, and other lands in the bailery of Cowal to Colin of Ardkinlas, his kinsman, on condition that the said Colin would give homage and personal service, with a ship of eight oars and one of six oars for the service of the said Archibald when required, with half the ward and relief of the lands, and the whole marriage when it should occur, the mill of Dunlosken to be shared between the granter and the holder in profits, construction, and multure." (Or. Par. Scot., Parish of Kilmorich.)

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* Appendix I.

This curious compact was made in the neighbourhood of Kilmun, ten years before the Reformation. When that memorable event took place, in the scrimmage that followed, it may be inferred that the grasping house of Ardkinlas would not be slow to secure its share of the spoil. The papers of such an eminent institution would be considered amongst its most valuable treasures, and it is probable that the MS. had been carried to Ardkinlas for safety, and remained there till disentombed by Mr. Robert Campbell, the deer forester of Benmore in the parish of Kilmun. Glenmasan being about the centre of the forest, it is likely that Robert Campbell had his residence there, and gave the MS. the title on the skin cover—"*Gleann Masain an cuige la deag do an . . . Mh : : : do bhlian ar t'searse Mile da chead trichid sa hocht.*" That is, "Glenmasan, the 15 day of the . . . of M : : : of the year of our Redemption, 1238."

Section Second.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF KILMUN.

I come now to show that the Church or College of Kilmun had been founded and in existence at the early age the writing of the Glenmasan MS. indicates, and that this document had been written by the monks serving there. Some will think that this idea is a delusion, as all modern Gazetteers, Ecc. Statistics, and Guide Books declare that this church had been originally founded about the year 1442, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, commonly called *Donachadh-an-aidh* — or the fortunate—the first of that family who assumed the title of Argyle.

It is true that Sir Duncan endowed this church with lands to the extent of nineteen marks, which was a handsome gift in those days. Nevertheless, he seems to have made a remarkably good bargain with the monks for his money. The deed says: " It secured the salvation of the souls of King James I. and of Joanna his Queen, and the special salvation of Sir Duncan's departed wife Marjory, and of his present wife Margaret, and of his first begotten son, Celestine, and of all his predecessors and successors." But Sir Duncan seems to have been too cute to risk the salvation of his own soul on this overloaded policy of insurance, as we find him afterwards donating the halfpenny lands of Blarantibirt in Knapdale to the salvation of his own soul.*

People are very ready to confound two different things—founding and endowing. Sir Duncan only endowed an existing church; Lamont of Cowal founded it two hundred years previously.

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* Appendix E.

In tracing the early history of this church, there are four topics relating to it that require a few remarks, namely—

The Patron Saint.
The Church.
The Founders.
The Inmates.

THE PATRON SAINT.*

According to Adomnan, the original name of the saint was Fintan; Munn being an assumed name. He is said to have resolved to leave Ireland and go to Columba in Iona, but he arrived there after the death of that saint. Fintan returned to Ireland and founded there Teach-munna and other churches; and it is said that the churches of Saint Munn in Loch Leven and Kilmun in Cowal were dedicated to him. The Aberdeen Breviary, which is considered a great authority on saintship, gives the life and legend of Saint Munn, which is translated from the Latin and inserted in the appendix.

THE CHURCH OF KILMUN.

Regarding the Church of Kilmun, Dr. Skene, in his recent work, "Celtic Scotland," says that "the Church of Kilmun was founded by Fintan-Munna of Teach-munna in Ireland about the beginning of the seventh century—that it is the only Columban or Culdee church in Argyleshire; all the other churches were founded after the Romish system was introduced into Scotland by Malcolm Canmore and his wife and family."—(Vol. II., chap. ix., pp. 410-411.)

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* Appendix D.

This statement requires a great amount of faith to bridge it over for six hundred years. For there is no evidence that Fintan Munna had a successor in Kilmun till the dawn of its history early in the thirteenth century. But if we take the latter period as its true origin, we will find that the Church of Kilmun is among the earliest foundations in Argyleshire.

Before referring to the founders and the gifts conferred, it will be necessary to show what led them to do so.

The introduction of the feudal system and that of the Romish Church into Scotland were co-eval, and their success depended on their mutual co-operation,—" Every lord's manor became a parish, and the church divided the respect of the people with the castle."—(Cosmo Innes' " Middle Ages," chap. iv., p. 132. Edin. 1860.)

The bestowal of wide districts by royal bounty on strangers and courtiers would not have been tolerated but for the support received from the Romish clergy, who, in order to carry out their designs, spread themselves over the face of the country, and seized upon every spot which claimed sanctity, and easily replaced the Columban or Culdee order that preceded them. This was not very difficult for them to do, for we are told that " at this period, from internal decay and external change, the old Celtic church, whose chief seat was at Iona, was hastening to an end. The last of the old abbots there, of whom we have any notice, died in the last year of the eleventh century, and for upwards of fifty years we have an unbroken silence regarding Iona."—(Skene's " Celtic Scotland," Vol. II., chap. vii.)

The introduction of the Romish system into Argyleshire took place about the end of the twelfth century. Cosmo Innes says: " Early in the twelfth century the Cluniac monks were introduced into Scotland, planted first at Paisley by the Stewarts, and before the end of it had possession of Iona. The remains of ecclesiastical buildings on the island are theirs, which we need not hesitate to place at their true date, the beginning of the thirteenth century."—("Scotland in the Middle Ages," chap. x., p. 293.)

This will lead us to see what led the donors to confer their gifts, and also how so many early church grants in Argyleshire were conferred on the monastery of Paisley.

At this period the four principal families in Argyleshire were the progenitors of the Macdonalds of Kintyre, the Macdougalls of Lorn, the Lamonts of Cowal, and Sween of Kintyre and Knapdale. These families apparently saw that unless they patronised the church liberally, they would be supplanted by the strangers who were swarming over and seizing the country.

Reginald, the son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, was the first patron of the Romish church in Argyleshire. In 1202, he founded at Saddell a religious house for Cistercian or White Monks.—(Orig. Par. Scot.) And according to a deed which still exists in the Vatican, in the year 1203 he established the Benedictines or Black Monks in Iona, also a nunnery there for Black Nuns, of which his sister Beatrice was the first prioress. —(" Celtic Scotland," Vol. II., chap. vii.)

Dunkan Macdougall of Lorn founded the priory of Ardchattan for monks of the order of Vallis Caullium. In after years it was resolved to remove the seat of the bishop partly to the island of Lismore, where it was endowed in 1251 by Eugenius, the son of Dunkan. Dufgal, the son of Sween of Knapdale and Skipness, was not unmindful of the Paisley fraternity.

THE FOUNDERS.

I come now to the donations of the Lamonts of Cowal and Argyle proper; and as their gifts have a circumstantial bearing on the evidences of the Glenmasan MS., I will quote freely from the original charter.

The first gifts of this family were bestowed on the monks of Paisley between the years 1230 and 1246, and run thus: "Duncan, son of Ferchar, and Laumun, son of Malcolm, grandson of said Duncan, pray for eternal salvation in the Lord to all the sons of the holy mother church—to those living at present as well as to those in time to come. Know, that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter, confirmed to God and to Saint James and to Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, the church of Kilinan for pure and perpetual charity, with all its just pertinents, together with every right which has appertained to us in the exercise of our patronage. We have given them also the pennyland of Kilmor, which lies above Lochgilp, with the chapel of Saint Mary built on said land. Further, we have conferred and granted to the aforesaid from motives of piety those three halfpenny lands which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun, with the fishings and all others, their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of Kilmun in respect of the patronage. To be held and possessed freely and peaceably, as they hold and possess other charitable bequests given to them freely and peaceably. These being witnesses — Lord Walter, son of Alan, justiciary seneschal of Scotland; Lord Malcolm, son of the Count of Lennox; Lord Simon Fleming, and Lord Hugh, his brother; Luke, chaplain of Paisley; Roger, seneschal of Paisley; Nachten, rector of the church of Kilinan; Roger, vicar of Kilbarchan; Alexander of Smalham, and William of Cadiou, and many others."—(Regis. Monas. de Passelet, p. 132.)

We thus see the possessions of Duncan the son of Ferchar, and of Laumun his grandson, extended from Lochgilp to Kilmun. Their grants at first were jointly conferred, but afterwards they acted independently, and finally branched into two families. The family of Angus, the son of Duncan, retained the lands beyond Lochfyne, and that of Laumun those of Cowal, and perhaps a part of Bute.

Angus, the son of Duncan, confirmed the grant of Kilmore at Paisley on the day of March succeeding the discovery of the Holy Cross in the 1270th year of grace, and in the same year he grants a deed of sasine and possession on the Wednesday immediately following the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr. In the confirmation of Kilmore, Angus refers to the original grants by saying: "These things being excepted which belong to the foresaid Laumun or his heirs, or may belong to them."—(Ib. pp. 133-7.)

Malcolm, the son of Laumun gave, granted, and confirmed to the monks of Paisley the halfpenny lands in connection with the church of Killenan, for pure and perpetual alms, and for the salvation of the souls of his forefathers. This charter was granted at Paisley on the day of Sabbath, on the morrow of Saint Mary Magdalene's, in the year of grace 1295.—(Ib., p. 138.)

In the triple gifts to the monks of Paisley we do not learn the motives that prompted the donors to give the pennyland and church of Kilmore above Lochgilp, but we learn that the church and land of Kilinan were given for charity, and the donor stipulates for the salvation of the souls of his forefathers, which is the first exaction of this family that we read of.

The gifts to the church of Kilmun were given from motives of piety and without any consideration, and were commensurate with the requirements of a seat of learning in those days. The deed says: "We have conferred and given to God and to Saint James and Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, from motives of piety, those three halfpenny lands which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun, with the fishings and all others their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of

Kilmun in respect of patronage. To be held and possessed freely and peaceably, as they hold and possess any charitable bequests given to them freely and peaceably."

We have here the true date of the foundation of the collegiate church of Kilmun, between the years 1230 and 1246, and not that alleged to Sir Duncan Campbell.

People, nowadays, smile at the nominal value of the money granted, but this is a mistake, as it represented a great deal in those days. The three halfpenny lands seem to have embraced the whole of Strathachie, which we find afterwards (1362) described as Keanloch—Kilmun.—(Orig. Par. Scot.) In the pertinents and pendicles of the grants are included three famous fishing streams, also an extensive orchard, the site of which is still pointed out, and from which a farm derives its name.

THE INMATES.

After the ample provision made for the sustenance of the Kilmun college, it is surprising that none of the inmates appear as witnesses to the bequests. But we must remember the first work of the monks of Paisley was to prepare the institution, and that of the lay patrons—Duncan and Laumun—was to endow the same; the appointment of the inmates as a matter of course followed. Such was the case in other places. We read that Dryburgh Abbey obtained a charter of confirmation from King David I., and the cemetery was consecrated on Saint Martin's day, 1150—that no demons might haunt it—but that the community did not come into residence till 13th December, 1152.

Although the monks of Paisley on several occasions attempted to introduce into Argyleshire foreign orders of monks, they do not seem to have taken root there. Ireland was the resort for instruction, literature, and written languages, from the dawn of history, and of this era Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," says: "The rise of the Celtic chief Somerled, and the foundation of the dynasty of Gaelic lords of the isles in his immediate descendants, renewed the intercourse with Ireland (which was interrupted for two-and-a-half centuries by the Lochlannich), and we find that during the three centuries while those powerful kinglets ruled over the Western Highlands and Islands (1156-1478), there was not only a close political connection with Ireland, but the literary influence was equally close and strong, and Ireland was resorted to for instruction in the literature and written language of the country."—(Vol. II., chap. x., pp. 459-60.) He further says: "The standard of the written Irish was introduced into the Highlands by the Scoto-Irish monks. It became the language of the church, the monastery, and the school."—(Chap. X., pp. 457-8.)

There is strong circumstantial evidence that the first colony of monks planted at Kilmun was Irish. The document of which I am treating is evidently the remains of their library. Although Glenmasan is written among the local names given in the lay of Deirdri, it is a mistake to suppose that this MS. was written at Glenmasan, as there never was a literary institute there. The appellation is derived from its having Glenmasan written on the skin cover; this title is carelessly and coarsely executed in the Irish character, and likely to have been done when in possession of the Ardkinlas family. The vellum MS., on the other hand, is written with the greatest care. It commences with an embellished capital letter. Its paragraphs and transposed sentences are distinguished by red ink; its contractions are most exact, and on the whole it is beautifully written, and such as would only be produced in those days by a practised scribe of the cloister.

I have already referred to this MS. being pronounced as having been written about the era of the date on the cover

(1238). This date is not found in what now remains of the MS., but probably the leaf may have been lost; yet it is noteworthy that the gifts of Laumun and his grandfather to Kilmun church had been conferred between the years 1230 and 1246, which agrees with the 1238 on the cover of the MS. And in the poem, Deirdri is made to say: "*Glenn Eitci, an do thogas mo ched tigh.*" ("Glen Eitci, where I reared my first house.") The writer may here refer to his first abode in Scotland, which would also coincide with the above dates.

But the contents of the MS. itself are the best proof of its parentage, as with the exception of the twenty lines occupied by the poem of Deirdri, the whole tale is but parts of the "*Tain bo Cuilgne*," the central romance of the heroic poems of Ireland. The heroic characters and geography are all Irish. Many copies of this tale were in existence in the Irish monasteries long prior to the founding of the college of Kilmun.

Section Third.

THE VALEDICTORY POEM OF DEIRDRI.

The popularity of the tale and poem of Deirdri arose from two causes. First, from the elegance of Macpherson's edition; and second, from its containing the valedictory poem with recognised topography, thus giving it an historical value.

ITS POETICAL BEAUTIES.

In a critical dissertation on the "Poems of Ossian" by Dr. Hugh Blair (Edinburgh, 1765), this poem is characterised in the following strain:—"The apostrophe to the winds in the opening of Darthula is in the highest spirit of poetry." After giving the quotation he again says: "Having now treated fully of Ossian's talents with respect to description and imagery, it only remains to make some observation on his sentiments," and he concludes by saying: "Let the poem of Darthula throughout be taken as an example of the poems of Ossian."

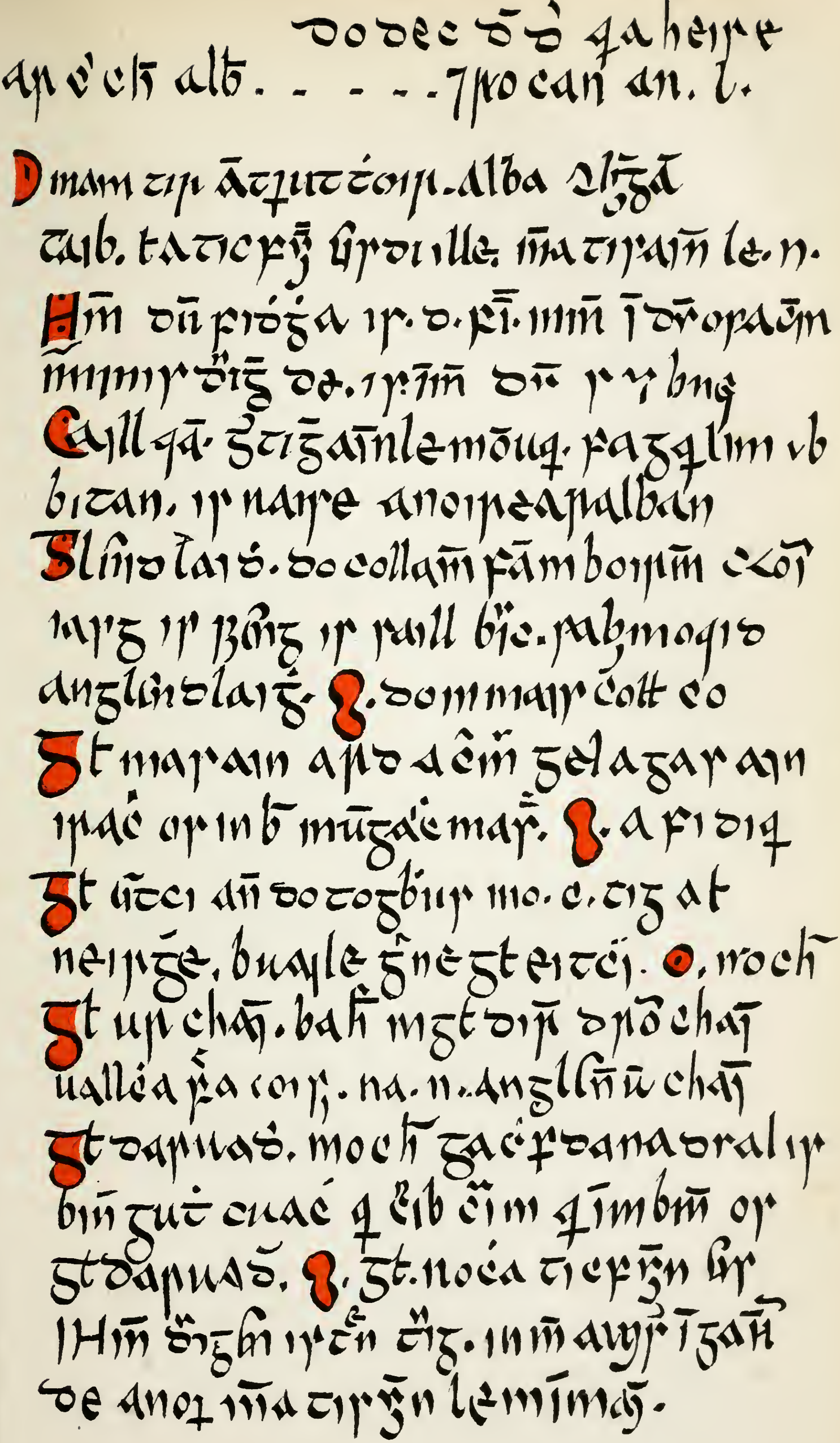
HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE POEM OF DEIRDRI.

The tale of "Deirdri" is one of the three sorrowful tales of the Irish. It is generally divided into two parts—"The *Loinges*" or "Exile," and "The *Oidheadh*" or "Tragedy of Deirdri and the sons of Usnach."

The German linguist Windisch enumerates twenty-three versions and copies of this tale in Ireland. The Book of Leinster, written about 1150, contains the earliest complete version of the tale.

In Scotland the poem of "Deirdri" has been considered of so much importance, owing to its place names, that there are about sixteen versions of it in print; ten of these are copies from the valedictory poem of Deirdri in the Glenmasan MS.; three are traditional versions from it; and three, versifications of parts of "The Exile."

As the Glenmasan MS. appears to be the first version that gives the valedictory poem of "Deirdri," I insert a transcript of the poem from the MS., and afterwards give the other versions copied from it, according to their dates as they appear in print.



do dec d̄ ḋ ga heire
ar ċ ch̄ alb. - - - - 7 ro can an. l.

Dinam tir ātuitt ċoir. Alba albgā
taib. tatic fḡ urdi ille. ima tirain le. n.
Him dū fiógá is. d. rī. iiiī 7 dṙ oraim
mumir dig̃ da. is. 7im dū s y bng
Caill qā. gtigāinle mōuq. fagglim ib
bitan. is naire anoirsearalban
Sliuo laiṡ. do collam fām boirim ċcoi
mis is geng is raill bic. rabimogio
anglindlaig. g. dom mais colt co
gt marain ard aem gelagar ain
isaċ or in b mugaemar. g. a fi diq
gt utci an do togbuis mo. c. tig at
neirge. buayle gne gt eitci. o. roch
gt ur chag. bah mgt dir drō chai
uallea fa cois. na. n. anglñu chai
gt darnad. moch gaċ fdanadral is
bin guṫ cuac q lib cim qimbm or
gt darnad. g. gt. noca ticfgn bir
IHim digbi isten ċig. in m ausi 7 gan
de anot ima tirgn le mimag.

Appendix F.

THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY'S VERSION—1805.

Do dech Deardir ar a héise ar crichibh Alban. . . . . . agus ro chan an Laoidh—

Inmain tir in tir ud thoir
Alba cona lingantaibh
Nocha ticfuinn eisdi ille
Mana tisain le Naise.
Inmain Dun Fidhgha is Dun Finn
Inmain in Dun os a cinn
Inmain Inis Draignde
Is inmain Dun Suibnei.
Caill cuan gar tigeadh Ainnle mo nuar
Fagair lim ab bitan
Is Naise an oirear Alban.
Glend Laidh do chollain fan mboirmin caoimh
Iasg is seing is saill bruich
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend laigh.
Glend masain ard a crimh geal a gasain
Do nimais colladh corrach
Os Inbhar mungach Masain.
Glend Eitchi ann do togbhus mo ched tigh
Alaind a fidh iar neirghe
Buaile grene Ghlind eitchi.
Mo chen Glend Urchaidh
Ba hedh in Glend direach dromchain
Uallcha feara aoisi ma Naise
An Glend Urchaidh.
Glend da ruadh
Mo chen gach fear da na dual
Is binn guth cuach
Ar craeib chruim
Ar in mbinn os Glenndaruadh.
Inmain Draighen is tren traigh
Inmain Auichd in ghainimh glain
Nocha ticfuin eisde anoir
Mana tisuinn lem Inmain.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

Darthula looked behind her towards the land of Albion, and raised the strain—

Lovely land is that eastern land,
Albion with all its lakes,
O that I might not depart from it!
But I depart with Naos.
Lovely is the tower of Fidga, and the tower of Fingal.
Lovely is the tower above them.
Lovely the isle of Drayno,
And lovely the tower of Suvno.
But, alas! the wood, the bay, which Ainle would approach
Are left by me and Naos for ever,
Upon the coast of Albion.
O vale of Laith! would I were sleeping by its soothing murmur.
Fish and venison, and the choice of the chase prepared,
Would be my repast in Glenlaith.
Glenmasan! high grow its herbs, fair wave its branches,
Steep would be the place of our repose
Over the grassy banks of Masan.
O vale of Etha! where a first house has been built for me,
Delightful were its groves when the sun, risen to its height,
Would strike his beams on Gleneiti.
How I long for the vale of Urchay!
Straight vale of the fairest hills;
Joyful were his companions around Naos
In Glenurchay.
Vale of Daruadh!
Pleasant to me would be each of its people:
Sweet is the note of the cuckoo
From the bending tree of the mountain
Above Glen-da-Ruadh
Lovely is Drayno of the sounding shore!
Lovely is Avich of the brightest sand!
O! that I might not depart from it west.
But I depart with my love!

This version is extracted from the Glenmasan manuscript with a literal translation by Dr. Donald Smith. In the second line he has *lingantaib*—lakes, for *hingantaib*—marvels; in line 18, *Glend Eitchi* for *Glend eitci;* in line 21, *Glend Urchaidh* for *Glend Urchain;* in line 31, *Auichd* or *Avich* for *Uisge*—water; in line 23, *Nocha* is omitted before *Uallcha.*

DUBLIN GAELIC SOCIETY'S VERSION—1807.

Ioinmhuin tir, an tir ud shoir.
Alba con a h' ingantaibh:
Mocha ttiucfainn eiste ille,
Muna ttiucfainn le Naise.

Inmhuin Dun-fiodhaigh 's Dun-finn;
inmhuin an dun os a ccin;
inmhuin Innis Droighneach de
agus inmhuin Dun Suibhne.

A choill chuan! on a choill chuan!
gus ttigeadh Ainnle mo nuar;
fa guirid liomsa ro bhi ann,
is Naisi in iarthar Alban.

Glenn Laidhe! ón in Glenn Laidhe!
do chodluinn fám erradh chaimh
iasg is ois-fheoil is saill bruic
fa hi mo chuid in glenn Laidhe.

Glenn Mhasain! ón Glenn Mhasain!
ard a chneamh, geal a chasain;
do ghnidhmis codladh corrach,
os inbhir mongach Mhasain.

Glenn Urchain! ón Glenn Urchain!
fa he an glenn direch druimchain;
noch ar bh' uallacha fer a aise
no mo Naise an Glenn Urchain.

Glenn Eitche! úch ón Glenn Eitche!
ann do thogbhas mo chéd-thigh;
aluinn a fiodh iar n' eirghe
buaile greine Glenn Eitche.

Glenn dá Ruadh! ón Glenn da Ruadh!
mo chion gach aen fhear dár dual;
as binn guith cuaiche ar chraibh-chruim
ar an mbinn ós Glenn da Ruadh.

Inmhain Droighin os tren tragh;
inmhuin uisce os ghainimh ghlan;
mocha ttiucfain aisde dhe,
mun' tticcinn lem' inmhiun.

TRANSLATION OF SAME.

Delightful land, yon eastern land,
Alba with its wonders;
I would not hither thence depart
Did I not come with Naisi.

Lovely is Dunfy and Dunfin;
Lovely the Dun over them;
Lovely is the Isle of Drayno, too,
And lovely is the Dun of Sweno.

O! wood of Kone, O! wood of Kone,
Whither, alas! Ainnle would resort;
Too short I deem my stay there
With Naisi in the west of Alba.

Vale of Laith, O! in the vale of Laith,
I used to sleep under my soft coverlets;
Fish and venison and the delicious prime of badger,
Was my repast in the vale of Laith.

Vale of Masan! O! vale of Masan:
High its harts' tongue, fair its stalks;
We enjoyed a rocking sleep
O'er the grassy harbour of Masan.

Vale of Urchay! O! vale of Urchay!
It was the *straight* vale of smooth *ridges.*
A man of his age was not more sprightly
Than Naisi in the vale of Urchay.

Vale of Eiti! alas! O! vale of Eiti!
In it I raised my first house;
Beauteous its wood,—upon rising
Delightful resort of the sun in the vale of Eiti.

Vale of the two Roes! O! vale of the two Roes,
My love each man to whom it is inheritance;
Sweet is the cuckoo's note on bending bough
On the cliff over the vale of the two Roes.

Dear is Drayno of resounding shore;
Dear its waters over the pure sand;
I would not thence at all come
Except I would come with my love.

This version was published by Theophilus O'Flanagan, secretary to the Gaelic Society of Dublin, in 1808. This book contains two versions of the tale of Deirdri—the first gives the exile and tragedy of Deirdri and the sons of Usnach, with the valedictory poem, and an English translation. He does not tell its source. The language would indicate a modern date. The other version is called "*Loingis Mic n-Uisnigh,*" or "The exile of the sons of Usnach." This version is of an older date, but has no contractions but the dot (.) for the letter *h*, and on the whole it is not difficult to read. O'Flanagan says: "This is the tale from which the flowery Keating took his account of the origin of the war of Cualgne."

In his strictures on the Highland Society's version of the poem in the Glenmasan MS., O'Flanagan in effect says: "The prologue to the tale is omitted in the extract given in the Report of the Committee; they have, however, marked the omission by a few dots without any other notice of it."

This is not the case, as the heading is gathered from the preceding part of the story, not in dots, but in contracted words, which any accomplished Irish scholar can decipher. They certainly made a mistake in *lingantaib*—lakes, for *h-iongantaib*—wonders, for which Dr. Donald Smith, the secretary, is severely brought to task. But the critic overlooks that he prints in the next line *Mocha* for *Nocha*, which is fully as great a mistake. He also finds fault with Smith for not repeating the place names in the poem, but his own remarks are a sufficient reply, which say: "In ancient MSS. the judgment of the reader and his knowledge of prosody must be his guidance and direction, both for sense and metre."—(p. 42.) We infer from this that taste and not rule was the guide.

Dr. Smith gives a transcript stanza of the poem of Deirdri as a specimen at page 310, and a copy of the poem, with extended spelling and an English literal translation, at pp. 308-9 of the Report. This was certainly a fairer mode of translation than changing the text into repetitions. Dr. Stokes, a greater authority than O'Flanagan, follows the same rule as Smith.

O'Flanagan's English rendering is exceedingly fanciful, such as "*cail chuan*"—the wood of Kone; "*ard a chneamh*"—high its harts' tongue; "*Inbhir mongach Mhasain*"—the grassy harbour of Masan; "*Glenn da Ruadh*"—the Glen of the two Roes, &c.

PETER TURNER'S VERSION—1808.

Ionmhuin tir an tir ud shor
alba gona hiongantaibh,
noch an ttiocfainn aiste ale,
muna ttaguinn le naise.

Ionmhuin dun fiodh is ionmhuin dun fionn,
is ionmhuin an dun os ccionn,
ionmhuin inis droighn de,
is ionmhuin dun suibhne.

Choill chuanna on choill chuanna,
nior abfhuilid uisgedha fuara,
aoibhinn do bhadas an tan,
et naoise an oirtheir alban.

Gleann caoin on gleanna caoin,
do chodlainn fam eradh chaoimh,
iasg 'us eis fheoil bhroic,
fa hi mo chuid an gleann caoin.

Gleann Masain on gleanna masain,
ard a chramh geal amhasain.
do ghniodhmaois codhladh coirach,
os monga gleanna masain.

Loch-eitche on loch eitche,
ann do thogbhus mo ched tig,
aluinn a fhiodh ar neirge,
baile greine a loch eitche.

Gleann orchaoin on gleann orchaoin
fa he an gleann direach dromchaoin,
nior uallach fear a aoise
na naoise an gleann orchaoin.

Gleanna ruag on Gleanna ruag
mo ghean ar an bfhear dar dual
binn guth cuaiche os craoibh chruim
ar an ndruim os gleanna ruag.

Ionmhuin inis droighin de,
agus a uisge gainmhe,
go nach tiocfuinn aisd ale,
acht muna ttiguin le naoise.

This version is from a small quarto paper manuscript marked "LVI. Highland Society. Peter Turner. No. 3." It is paged 369-599, and is now in the Advocates' Library. It was this version that Ewan MacLachlan of Old Aberdeen collated with the Glenmasan MS. in his analysis of the tale of Deirdri, &c. From the style of the orthography, it appears of a late date.

There is no indication as to where Turner got the MS. It may probably have been when traversing the country collecting his Gaelic songs. This manuscript seems to have had a trip to Ireland. At foot of page 499 is a note—"Wm. Reidy of Lismatigue, in the parrish of Newmarkett, barrony of Knoctopher, county of Kilkenny, Province of Leinster, and Kingdom of Ireland."

HUGH AND JOHN MACCALLUM'S VERSION—MONTROSE, 1816.

How dear! how lovely yonder eastern shore;
  And Albion's lakes embanked with woodland green:
From these retreats my feet would stray no more,
  But with my love I quit the darling scene.

The Isle of Drayno, grac'd with verdant bow'rs;
  The forts that top yon cliffs o'erhanging brow;
The sunion wall, and Fingal's mossy tow'rs
  Wake in my breast affection's parting glow.

I with my Nathos bid yon wilds adieu!
  The woods and bays where Anlo roam'd of yore
Now fast receding, vanish from my view,
  And Albion's pleasing scenes return no more.

How sweet thy landscapes Letha's winding vale!
  How soft repose where thy smooth riv'lets glide!
Oft on thy heights we took the fresh regale,
  And hills and streams the plenteous board supply'd.

O lov'd Glenmasan! waste of herbs and flow'rs!
  Fair wave thy forests in the vernal breeze;
Full many a day we pass'd the unconscious hours
  Stretch'd on thy grassy banks in careless ease.

Dear Etha's glen, where first my cot was rear'd!
  How much I lov'd on thy tall groves to gaze;
When rising o'er the vale the sun appear'd,
  And the lake glittered with his morning rays!

Glenurcha's simple tract, the tract belov'd,
By two straight ranks of beauteous hills confin'd;
How glad his youthful mates with Nathos mov'd,
While o'er thy crags they urged the flying hind!

Darthula's vale, the vale of harmless glee,
Where social bands around us lov'd to throng;
Where oft from yonder mountain's bending tree
The artless cuckoo pour'd her mellow song!

How lovely Drayno with its sounding shore,
The sands of Avich lav'd by billows green!
From these sweet haunts my feet would stray no more,
But with my love I quit the darling scene.

The editors of this version, in an introductory note to the English version, laud the translator in the following strain:—"To the learned and ingenious Ewan MacLachlan, Esq., Rector of the Grammar School, Old Aberdeen, the editors return their most grateful and sincere acknowledgments for his elegant and faithful translation of Darthula." MacLachlan's English rendering of this poem is certainly very beautiful, but to say that it is a faithful translation is an abuse of language.

EWEN MACLACHLAN'S VERSION—OLD ABERDEEN, 1816.

Darthulæ Albio Valedicentis Carmen.

Istius ut cedens regionis littus Eoæ,
Stagnaque sylvoso margine cincta placent!
Usque tuos mihi dulce foret peragrare recessus,
Albion! at Nathi linquere cogit amor.
Insula Drenæi decorata virentibus umbris,
Fingaleæ turres, Suniadûmque domus,
Et Fidigi impositæ scopulis pendentibus arces,
Hæc revocant animo tempora grata meo.

Vos, sylvæ et portus! Natho comitante relinquo,
  Carpsit ubi toties devius Anlus iter;
Et tua mox nebulæ dilecta cacumina condent,
  Albion, ah! nunquam restituenda mihi.
Ut tua, Letha, juvat sinuoso tramite vallis,
  Somnus et ad fluvii murmura blanda tui!
Sæpe tuis lautas in clivis sumpsimus escas,
  Fluminaque et montes contribuere dapem.
Tu quoque floriferi decus es, Mansânia, regni,
  Verna tibi celsum cum quatit aura nemus;
Hîc locus, æstivas ubi sæpe fefellimus horas,
  Gramineo strati languida membra toro.
Tecta mihi steterant gelidis sub frondibus Æthes,
  Hæc nemora ut placuit cernere densa comis,
Sol monte exoriens vallem cum pingeret auro,
  Et tremulum splendens redderet unda jubar!
Semper amæna mihi spatiosæ rura Glenurchæ,
  Concava, porrectis undique clausa jugis;
Nathos ibi et comites, salebrosa per avia, cervas
  Versabant trepidas, capreolosque leves.
Multoties et nos Daruali in valle solebant
  Roricolæ innocuis exhilarare jocis;
Sæpius atque alta flexâ super arbore rupis
  Cuculus agrestes fudit ab ore modos.
Fluctibus oblectant roratâ Avicus arenâ,
  Raucaque Drenæi littora pulsa salo.
Hos mihi dulce foret semper peragrare recessus,
  Dulcior at Nathi linquere cogit amor.

DR. W. F. SKENE'S VERSION.

(Preface to "The Book of the Dean of Lismore." Edinburgh, 1862.)

Beloved land, that Eastern land,
Alba, with its wonders.
O that I might not depart from it,
But that I go with Naise.

Beloved is Dunfidgha and Dun Finn ;
Beloved the Dun above them ;
Beloved is Innisdraighende,
And beloved Dun Suibhne.

Coillchuan ! O Coillchuan !
Where Ainnle would, alas ! resort ;
Too short, I deem, was then my stay
With Ainnle in Oirir Alban.

Glenlaidhe ! O Glenlaidhe !
I used to sleep by its soothing murmur ;
Fish, and flesh of wild boar and badger,
Was my repast in Glenlaidhe.

Glenmasan ! O Glenmasan !
High its herbs, fair its boughs.
Solitary was the place of our repose
On grassy Invermasan.

Gleneitche ! O Gleneitche !
There was raised my earliest home.
Beautiful its woods on rising,
When the sun struck on Gleneitche.

Glen Urchain ! O Glen Urchain !
It was the straight glen of smooth ridges.
Not more joyful was a man of his age
Than Naoise in Glen Urchain.

Glendaruadh ! O Glendaruadh !
My love each man of its inheritance.
Sweet the voice of the cuckoo, on bending bough,
On the hill above Glendaruadh.

Beloved is Draighen and its sounding shore;
Beloved the water o'er the pure sand.
O that I might not depart from the east,
But that I go with my beloved !

Dr. Skene introduces the Lament of Deirdri as follows:—"One of the poems in the tale of the Children of Uisneach contains such a tender recollection of, and touching allusion to, Highland scenery, that it is hardly possible to suppose that it was not originally composed by a genuine son of Alban." In a foot note he adds: "The oldest copy of the tale, which was the foundation of Macpherson's Darthula, is in the Glenmasan MS. in the collection in the Advocates' Library, which bears the date 1238, and this translation is made from it." That Macpherson's "Darthula" was founded on the Glenmasan MS. is a mistake. This MS. was not generally known for twenty years after Macpherson published his "Darthula." Lord Bannatyne found the Glenmasan MS. with the Rev. John M'Kinnon in Glendaruel—Mr. M'Kinnon was not ordained there till 1780, and Macpherson published his "Darthula" in 1761-2. It is also a mistake to say this version of Dr. Skene is from the Glenmasan MS. A glance at the transcript of that MS., and at the Dublin Gaelic Society's version of 1807, will show that his translation and style are adopted from the latter. In the third stanza he has "Ainnle" instead of "Naise," as in other versions.

J. F. CAMPBELL'S (OF ISLAY) VERSION—1872.

(From the H. S. Report on Ossian's Poems of 1805. Divided according to the metre and meaning. By Hector M'Lean, Islay.)

In "Leabhar na Feinne."

1. Inmain tir an tir ud thoir,
Alba cona lingantaib;
Nocha ticfuinn eisoli ille,
Mana tisain le Naise.

2. Inmain Dun Fidgha is Dun Finn,
Inmain in Dun os a cinn:
Inmain Inis Draigne,
Is inmain Dun suib ne.

3. Caill, cuan gur tigeadh
Ainnle mo nuar,
Fagair linn ab bitan
Is Naise an oirear Alban.

4. Glend Laidh do chollain,
Fan mboirmin caoimh
Iasg, is seing, is saill bruich,
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend Laigh.

5. Glend Masain ! ard a crimh !
Geal a gasain !
Do nimais colladh corrach,
Os Inbhar mungach Masain.

6. Glend Eitchi ann
Do togbhas mo chid tigh ;
Alaind a fidh iar eirghe,
Buaile grene Ghlind eitchi.

7. Mo chen Glend Urchaid,
Ba hedh in Glend direach dromchain ;
Uallacha feara aoise
Ma Naise an Glend Urchaidh.

8. Glend da ruadh Mo chen,
Gach fear da na dual ;
Is binn guth cuach ar craoibh chruim
Ar in mbinn os Glenndaruadh.

9. Inmain Draighen is tren traigh,
Inmain Auichd in ghainimh glain ;
Nocha ticfuin eisde anoir,
Mana tisuinn lem Inmain.

Mr. Campbell remarks: "The story of Deirdri is related to Indian epics, and is an Aryan romance, which pervades the old world. A beautiful girl, shut up to baulk a prophecy, is beloved by an old king. She runs away with a family of brothers, and, after adventures of many kinds, the story ends in a tragedy. In Ireland, the story of Deirdri and the three sons of Usnoch has been associated with the story of Cuchullin, king of Emania, ever since 1130."

DR. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN'S VERSION.

In "The Scottish Highlands and Highland Clans"—1875.

Beloved is that eastern land,
Alba (Scotland) with its lakes.
Oh! that I might not depart from it,
Unless I were to go with Naos!
Beloved is Dunfigha and Dunfin,
Beloved is the Dun above it.
Beloved is Inisdrayen (Inistrynich ?)
And beloved is Dun Sween.
The forest of the sea to which Ainnle would come, alas!
I leave for ever,
And Naos, on the seacoast of Alban,
Glen Lay (Glen Luy) I would sleep by its gentle murmur.
Fish and venison, and the fat of meat boiled,
Such would be my food in Glen Lay.
Glenmasan! high its wild garlic, fair its branches.
I would sleep wakefully
Over the shaggy Invermasan.
Glen Etive! on which I raised my first house,
Delightful were its groves on rising,
When the sun struck on Glen Etive.
My delight was Glen Urchay,
It is the straight vale of many ridges.
Joyful were his fellows around Naos
In Glen Urchay.

Glendaruadh (Glendaruel ?)
My delight in every man who belongs to it.
Sweet is the voice of the cuckoo
On the bending tree,
Sweet is it above Glendaruadh.
Beloved is Drayen of the sounding shore !
Beloved is Avich (Dalavich ?) of the pure sand.
Oh ! that I might not leave the east,
Unless it were to come along with my beloved.

Regarding this version Dr. MacLauchlan says: "The tale is a famous one in the Highlands, and the heroes of 'The sons of Usnoth' have given name to Dun mhic Uisneachan, or Dun mac Sniachan, said to be the Roman Beregonium, in the parish of Ardchattan, in Argyleshire." We give the following version of the poem as it appears in the "Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian," p. 298. There is some change in the translation as compared with that given in the Highland Society's Report, but the meaning is identical in both.

DR. WHITLEY STOKE'S VERSION—LEIPZIC, 1887.

(I N) main tír an tír út thoir,
Alba con (a) hingantaib :
nocha ticfuinn eisdi ille
mana tísainn le Noise.

I N main Dun-fidhgha is Dún-finn,
inmain in dun osa cinn,
inmain Inis Draigen de,
is inmain Dun Suibnei.

Caill Cuan
gair tiged Ainnle, mo núar !
fa gair lim dobí (in) tan
is Naíse an-oirear Alban.

Glend Laíd !
docollainn fan mboirinn caoimh :
iasg is sieng is saill bruic
fa hí mo chuid an Glend Laigh.

Glenn Masain !
ard a crimh, geal a gasáin :
donímais collud corrach
ós inbir mungaich Masáin.

Glenn Eitci !
ann dotogbhus mo céttig,
alaind a fidh, iar néirghe
buaile gréne Glenn Eitchi.

Glenn Urchán !
bahi inglenn diriug dromcháin,
nochor uallcha fer a aoisi
ná Nóise an Glenn Urcháin.

Glenn Da Rúadh
mochen gach fer dána dúal
is binn guth cúach ar cráib cruim
ar in mbinn ós Glinn Da Rúadh.

I N main Draigen is trén traigh,
inmain a uisce ingainimh glain :
nocha ticfuinn eisde anoir
mana tísuinn lem inmain.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING.

A loveable land (is) yon land in the east,
Alba with its marvels.
I would not have come hither out of it
Had I not come with Naísi.

Loveable are Dún-fidga and Dún-finn,
Loveable the fortress over them,
Loveable Inis Draigende,
And loveable Dún Suibni.

Caill Cuan!
Unto which Ainnle would wend, alas!
It was short I thought the time
And Naisi in the region of Alba.

Glenn Láid!
I used to sleep under a fair rock.
Fish and venison and badger's fat,
This was my portion in Glenn Láid.

Glenn Masáin!
Tall its garlic, white its branchlets:
We used to have an unsteady sleep
Over the grassy estuary of Masán.

Glenn Etive!
There I raised my first house.
Delightful its wood, after rising,
A cattlefold of the sun is Glenn Etive.

Glenn Urcháin!
It was the straight, fair-ridged glen.
Not prouder was (any) man of his age
Than Naisi in Glenn Urcháin.

Glenn Dá-Rúad!
My love to every man who hath it as an heritage!
Sweet is cuckoo's voice on bending branch
On the peak over Glenn dá Rúad.

Beloved is Draigen over a strong beach:
Dear its waters in pure sand;
I would not have come from it, from the east,
Had not I come with my beloved.

TRADITIONAL FRAGMENTS OF THE POEM OF DEIRDRI.

John Gillies. Perth, 1786.

Soiri soir gu h' Albain uam
Farma mhath fraorac cuain is Gleann
Ann am biodh clann uisneach re sealg
Bu aobhain suidhe air leirg a beann.

Nior b' iongna mi thabhairt grai
Do dh' Albain ur fa re roid
Bu ghlan mo choile na measg
Bu leam a h' eich is a h-or.

Bail agus leath Albain fein
Do bhiodh agam ard an ceum
Is le Fergus nan calg laidir
Gur mairg a thainig gu h Eirinn.

O Ghlinn Maisinn sin gleann Maisin
Gor a chreamh is geal a dhasan
Minic do roinneas codal iorrach
Air do mhulach-sa ghlinn Maisain.

Gleann Daruaill sin Gleann Daruaill
An gleann is binne guth cuaich
Is binne guth gaodhair fo'n choille chruim
Os ar ceann ann Gleann Daruaill.

Aoibhin Don-Meaghr is Dun Fhionn
Aoibhin an dùn bha os a cheann
Aoibhin Innis Dreghainn leathain
Leis sin agus Dun Suibhne.

Cearthar sin ann Innis Dreoghainn
Far nach faodfadh na slogh ar noisheadh
Mise fein 's moid an agh
Naois Ailbhe agus Ardan.

Bhiodh Aillbha aguinn ri toirbheirt
Is Ardan ri seilg seanta
Is Naois fein ceann ar muintir
Is mise ri fuaim nan teuda.

This fragment is headed "*Caoi Dhoirdir.*" The title page runs: "A collection of ancient and modern poems and songs, transmitted from gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland to the editor."

M'VURICH'S VERSION.

There is deposited in the Advocates' Library a fragmentary MS. (No. 26), belonging to the M'Vurichs, the bards of Clanranald. It contains the poem of Deirdri, as given by Gillies, of Perth—word for word—there being only a slight difference in the mode of spelling. Gillies must have copied from the M'Vurichs, or *vice versa.*

ALEXANDER AND DONALD STEWART'S VERSION—1804.

Inmhuinn tir an tir ud shoir
Albain cona lingantaibh
Gur truagh nach mise tha r'a h'oir,
Gur truagh nach mise a's Naos.

Soruidh soir gu h'Albain uam
Far a maith fradharc cuain is ghleann
Anns am biodh mic Uisnich ri sealg
B'eibhinn suidhe air leirg am beann.

Cha b'ionga mise thabhairt graidh
Do Albain air bu reidhe roid
Bu ghlan mo cheile na measg
Bhiodh leam a h-eich a's a h-oir.

O ghlinn Masain! sin gleann m' annsachd,
Ge gorm a chramh 's geal a ghasan;
B'ait a dheanain cadal corrach
Air do mhulach-sa ghlin Masain.

Gleann Daruadhail gleann gach buadha
Ann gleann 's am binna guth cuaiche
Is binn guth gadhair fa'n choille-chruim
Air a bheinn os Gleann Daruadhail.

Eibhinn Dun-meatha a's Dun-fionn,
Eibhinn an Dun bhiodh os an cionn,
Eibhinn Innis-droighin leathan
A's lea sin Dun-Suibhne.

Ceathrar sinn an Innis-droighin
Far nach feudadh sloigh ar noigheadh
Mise fein, a's bu mhoid m'agh
Naos, Aille agus Ardan.

Bhiodh Ardan agam ri teirbheirt
As Aille ri seilg shleibhean
Naos na cheann air muintir
A's mise re tuirmeadh theud ann.

This fragment is included in "The Works of the Highland Bards, collected in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, by Alexander and Donald Stewart, A.M., Edin. 1804." The title of the poem is "*Aoidheadh Chlainn Uisnich.*"

THE TALE OF DEIRDRI.

Minus the Valedictory Poem.

There are three printed editions of the versified tale of "Deirdri and the sons of Usnach" that do not contain the valedictory poem, viz., that of James Macpherson, that of Archibald Fletcher, and that of the Rev. Dr. Irvine.

JAMES MACPHERSON'S REVISED EDITION OF 1773.

It is difficult to say whether Macpherson found a tale bearing on this subject, and rendered it into English prose poetry, or translated a Gaelic ballad into the same style; for he indicates both ways. In his introduction he says: "It may not be improper here to give the story which is the foundation of the poem." And in his notes—referring to the part addressed to the moon—he says: "It is beautiful in the original, it is a lyric measure, and appears to have been sung to the harp."

THE VERSION OF ARCHIBALD FLETCHER, ACHALADER.

Orally learned in 1750, written in 1801, and printed by J. F. Campbell in 1872.

"The Highland Society's Report on Ossian's Poems," of the year 1805, says: "In the year 1801, Archibald Fletcher, Achalader, Glenorchy, declared before Archibald Menzies, J.P., Edinburgh, that the song called '*Eachdraidh air Conachar Righ Erin agus truir Mhac Righ Barrachoil*,' an edition of which Macpherson has published under the name of 'Darthula,' and which is commonly called in the country '*Clann Uisneachan*,' or 'The Sons of Usno,' he had heard recited above fifty years ago by many persons in Glenorchy, particularly by Nicol M'Nicol, Arivean, who resided some time ago in Achalader, and this, he thinks, was ten years before Macpherson went about collecting the poems of Ossian. He further declared that this and other poems he got copied in the country from his own oral recitation."

THE VERSION OF THE REV. DR. IRVINE, DUNKELD—1801-2.

The Rev. Dr. Irvine, Little Dunkeld, received this version partly from Captain Morison, of Greenock, and partly from Donald M'Iver, *alias* Robertson, foxhunter, Loch Tayside, about the year 1801. It was printed by Mr. J. F. Campbell in his "*Leabhar na Feinne*," 1872. The title of the poem is "*Deirdre no Clann Usnachan*." Dr. Irvine prefaces it with the following note: "The name of the heroine of the poem is Tirfail, not Dearduil. It seems a different poem altogether from Macpherson's 'Darthula;' only, the names of the three brothers are the same. Deirdri, indeed, is mentioned as her name, and one is at a loss whether the poet gives two names or whether the poem is a part of two poems. The beginning does not correspond with what follows."

Section Fourth.

FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO CONNECT PICTISH HISTORY WITH OSSIANIC NAMES.

Dr. Skene, whose life hobby has been an attempt to connect the ancient annals of the Picts with modern history, in his introduction to "The Book of the Dean of Lismore," discusses the origin of Ossianic poetry. At page lxiii. he says: "Assuming that Ossianic poems existed in the Highlands of Scotland, and were both preserved by oral tradition and transcribed in manuscript collections, the question is, What is the real position of the literature of the Highlands? But this question leads to a preliminary question, which will materially aid its solution, namely, Who were the *Feine* of tradition, and to what country and period are they to be assigned? To this question the Irish historians give a ready response, and claim all as their own."

Dr. Skene then gives a sketch of early Irish history, with its claims to Ossianic poetry, and comes to the conclusion "that the whole presents a structure so artificial, compact, and alike in all its features, that it is impossible for any one, like Samson, to withdraw any two pillars without bringing the whole edifice about his ears." (Page lxxi.)

He then says: "The Irish Ossianic poems, as well as the Dean's manuscript, indicate that the *Feine* were not a body of troops confined to Ireland, but to a much wider extent of territory"—(page lxxiv.)—which extended over low Germany, Scotland, and Ireland—that according to the Irish records they were the people termed *Tuatha de dannan* and the *Cruithne.*

The *Cruithne* or Picts were the race prior to the Scots in Alban, and the *Tuatha de dannan* the prior colony to the Milesian Scots in Ireland. (Page lxxvi.) He then reverts to his preliminary question—Who were the *Feine*, and to what period and country did they belong? and says: "We may fairly infer that they were of the population who immediately preceded the Scots in Erin and Alban, and that they belonged to that period in the history of both countries, consequently each country would claim the *Feine* as its exclusive property, and could point to a body of Ossianic poetry in support of its claims, and to the Fenian names of its localities in proof of the events which form the subject of the poems." (Page lxxviii.-ix.) From this inference he goes on to say: "Cuchullin, a hero of the third century, was of the race of the Picts, and belonged both to Ulster and Scotland. The children of Uisneach likewise were Picts, and must have preceded the Scots in Alban —for the great scene of their Scotch adventures is in the districts of Lorn, Lochawe, and Cowal, which afterwards became the possessions of the Dalriadic Scots—thus in the vicinity of Oban we have Dun Mhic Uisneachan, now corruptly called Dun Mac Sniachan, a fort with vitrified remains. The names of the three sons of Uisneach were Ainle, Ardan, and Naoise, and it is remarkable that Adamnan, in his life of Columba, written in the seventh century, appears to mention only three localities in connection with the saint's journey to the palace of the king of the Picts, near Lochness, and these three names are Cainle, Arcardan, and the flumen Nasae." (Page lxxxi.) "That the lament of Deirder or Darthula over Alban contains such a tender recollection of an allusion to Highland scenery that it is hardly possible to suppose that it was not originally composed by a genuine son of Alban before the arrival of the Dalriadic Scots." (Page lxxxvii.)

From this style of reasoning Dr. Skene first *assumes* the existence of Ossianic poetry in the Highlands at an early period, secondly he *infers* to what race they belonged, and thirdly he concludes that they *must* have been Picts of the third century, who preceded the Dalriadic Scots. We thus see that his *assumption* ends in *fact.*

In the summary given, we observe that Skene has demolished early Irish history, yet, singular to say, with the exception of the names of a few persons and places in the poem of Deirdri, which I shall shortly refer to, all his theories about the early Picts are founded on the evidence of the Irish seanachies. In proof of this, it might be asked, where did he find his reference to the *Tuath de dannan*, and the *Cruithne,* and to subsequent heroes, such as Cuchullin, Uisneach, &c., but in Irish histories? consequently his theories about the early Pictish races are liable to the same doom as theirs.

OSSIANIC NAMES OF PERSONS—CUCHULLIN.

Dr. Skene says: "Cuchullin, a hero of the third century, was of the race of the Picts, as were also the children of Uisneach."

O'Halleron, in his preface to Miss Brook's "Relics of Irish Poetry" (Dublin, 1789), antedates this hero three hundred years before that of Skene. He says: "In the reign of Conar Mac Nessa, king of Ulster, about the year of the world 3,950 A.M., according to our chronology fifty years before the Christian era —Ireland abounded in heroes—amongst these were Cuchullin, the son of Sualtach; Conal Cearnach, master of the Ulster knights, and the three sons of Uisneach—Naoise, Ainle, and Ardan, all cousins-german; by way of eminence they were called the *Heroes* of the *Western Isle.*"

UISNEACH.

The children of Uisneach are often referred to in this chapter; but no Scotch writer says anything about the sire, except Macpherson, who styles him "Lord of Eta." The tale of the sons of Uisneach is an old Milesian story, being one of the three sorrowful tales of Ireland. Uisneach, or Usnagh, in reality was a place, not a person, in old Ireland, " where the council of all the provinces met every year, the fresh fire was lighted there that was conveyed over the whole isle. In the year 1111 A.D., the Synod of Usnagh met with fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand ecclesiastics." (*Cambrensis Eversus.* See "Loch Etive and the Sons of Usnoth," pp. 89-90. London. 1879.)

DEIRDRI.

The name of the heroine that makes the principal figure in this romance is variously spelled Deirdri, Deirdre, Deirder, Deirde, Deirdriu, Doirdir, Deirdruinn, Dearduil, Tirfail, and Darthula. None of the old forms of the name has any resemblance to Macpherson's Darthula. He says: "She was the daughter of Colla, an adherent of Cormac, king of Ireland, and that her name Darthula signified a woman with fine eyes." Older versions say she was the daughter of Felim Mac Doill, King Conchubar's genealogist, and that Cattifadh, the king's druid, called the infant Deirdre, a name signifying a child of destiny.

The other three chief characters in the romance are Nathos, Althos, and Ardan. Macpherson says "they were sons of Usnoth, Lord of Etha, by Slisema, the daughter of Semo, and sister of the celebrated Cuchullin." "Not so," says O'Flanagan, "but they were the sons of Ailbhi, one of the daughters of Caffa the druid, while Cuchullin was a son of Deitchin, another daughter, by Subatam, his father, lord of Dundalgan." (P. 136.)

Dr. Skene places the era of these heroes in the third century. In his preface to "The Book of the Dean of Lismore," he says: "The names of the children of Uisneach were Nathos, Ainle, and Ardan, who were Picts, and must have preceded the Scots in Alban, for the great scene of their Scotch adventures is in the districts of Lorn, Lochawe, and Cowal, which afterwards became the possessions of the Dalriadic Scots." He further says: "It is remarkable that Adamnan, in his life of Saint Columba, written in the seventh century, appears to mention only three localities in connection with his journey to the palace of the king of the Picts. These are Cainle, Arcarden, and the flumen Nesae."

CAINLE.

This name is rendered in the preceding poems of Deirdri, Ainle, Ailld, Ailbhe, Ailde, and Althos, but never Cainle.

ARCARDEN.

Dr. Skene traces the name of this hero to Adamnan's Arcarden. The simple adjective of Ardan in all the foregoing versions is severely strained when rendered into Arcarden, Airchartdan, Urchudan, or Urquhart.

NAISE.

Dr. Skene apparently traces the origin of the name of Loch Ness to this hero. It is more likely that Loch Ness derived its name from the Falls of Foyers, in Gaelic *Loch-an-eas*, or the loch of the fall, it being the most notable object in its vicinity. This idea is not singular, for the field at the head of Glenetive derives its name *Dal-an-eas* from the numerous waterfalls that flow towards it.

The name Naise is evidently an Irish importation. We have already seen that Nessa was father of Conor, king of Ireland, who flourished before the Christian era. In the Scottish episode of Deirdri, his name is variously spelled, Naise, Snaois, Naois, Nais, Naos, and Nathos. (Macpherson traces his pedigree to Usnoth, lord of Eta, by Slissima, the daughter of Semo, and sister to the celebrated Cuchullin.)

Dr. Whitley Stokes, in his translation of Irish texts for Windisch (Leipzic, 1887), remarks: "It is just possible that some of the topography may be correct; but when Mr. Skene connects Adamnan's *regio* or *mons Cainle* with the man's name *Ainnle*, and the river name *Nesa* with the man's name *Naisi*, and when he invents a place name "Arcardan" in order to connect it with *Ardan*, he must excuse Celtic, and, indeed, all other scholars declining to follow him." (P. 121.)

I shall not follow the story of this hero to its tragic end, but give another version, and though not so romantic, to all appearance it is the truer of the two.

According to the analysis of the Glenmasan MS. by MacLachlan, in the tale of Deirdri, founded chiefly on Turner's manuscript, Fergus Mac Roigh found Deirdri, Nathos and his brothers, in a thickly-wooded glen on the banks of Lochetive. This wood is referred to in the New Ecclesiastical Statistics published in 1845. Mr. Fraser, minister of Ardchattan, says: "The name of one of the farms in Muckairn is *Coille Nathuis*, or the wood or forest of Nathos, where Fergus MacRoigh discovered the fugitives." Yet, strange to say, this place is not called Coille Nathuis, but Cille Nathos, in old documents. "In the year 1532, Farchard, Bishop of the Isles, granted Sir John Campbell, of Cadar, the dues of certain lands in the parish of Muckairn, among which is the five penny lands of Killinaise," (Or. Par. Scot. Muckairn), that is, the cell or burying place of Saint Nathos. The popularity of this saint was not confined to the banks of Lochetive. It extended to South Knapdale, where an old burying place is called Cille Nathuis; there is also an ancient burying place in Glendaruel dedicated to this saint; in the vicinity of the Cill is a holy well, with a sacred font, of the shape of a Scotch ashet. Its extreme length is 25 inches, breadth 15 inches, length inside basin 18 inches, breadth inside basin 11 inches, and depth about 2½ inches. The outer edge of this font has the appearance of having received rough handling, but the inside is yet whole.

The foregoing conflicting derivations will indicate the uncertainty of trusting to the mere names of heroes to prove the authenticity of Ossian's poems. These characters, when stripped of romance, and traced to their true source, instead of being Ossianic heroes, turn out to be canonized monks.

OSSIANIC NAMES OF PLACES.

Dr. Skene is the only translator who condescends to give a glossary of the topography of the Lay of Deirdri. In a footnote to his version of it, he says: "The scenery is all in Argyleshire. Innis Droighen is Innis Strynich in Lochawe; Dun Suibhne is Castle Sween; Glenlaidh is now called Glenlochy, where is Benlaoidh; Glenmasan bears the name; Glen Eitche in another copy called Loch Eitche is Glen Etive and Loch Etive; Glen Urchan is Glenorchy; and Glendaruadh is now called Glendaruel." (Page 88.)

I shall examine these place names, and endeavour to show that they are all in the district of Cowal, and within a radius of twelve miles of the College of Kilmun, where the Glenmasan manuscript was evidently written.

As Dr. Whitley Stokes is considered the highest authority in our day on old Irish, I give his rendering as my text, both in Irish and in English. Yet, in a few phrases, I think he has adhered too rigidly to this Irish MS. without considering its bearing on the Scotch localities.

THE LAY OF DEIRDRI.

The title of this poem, "Deirdri looked behind her towards the land of Alban, and raised the strain," does not head the poem, but the words are gathered immediately from the preceding part of the manuscript.

The first stanza in the poem is a complimentary prelude.

1. INmain tír an tir út thoir,
Alba con(a) hingantaib :
nocha ticfuinn eisdi ille
mana tísainn le Noise.

A loveable land (is) yon land in the east,
Alba with its marvels,
I would not have come hither out of it,
Had I not come with Naisi.

2. INmain Dun-fidhgha is Dún-finn,
inmain in dun osa cinn,
inmain Inis Draigen de,
is inmain Dun Suibnei.

Loveable are Dún-fidga and Dún-finn,
Loveable the fortress over them,
Loveable Inis Draigende
And loveable Dún Suibni.

The *Inis Draigende* in the third line I shall notice when treating of *Draigen* in the last verse. I have already mentioned that Dr. Skene is the only translator who has attempted to give a glossary of the place names in this poem. The first three *Duns* in this verse, he passes over without comment. Doubtless these were natural duns or conical elevations so numerous in the district of Cowal. The Dún-fidgha of the Glenmasan MS. is Dunfiodh in the Dublin and Turner versions, *i.e.*, a knoll covered with wood, a common occurrence at the present day.

Dún-finn of all the versions might have its locality in Glenfinnart. He says: "Dun Suibne is Castle Sween." This could not be, as Castle Sween was not built for seven hundred years after the alleged event, and native Highlanders did not name a Dun where it did not exist. Castles of old were built on inaccessible elevations, and the work of art in course of time assumed the name of the situation—there are many natural knolls in Cowal called duns that were never graced with a fortification. This castle is built, comparatively speaking, in a hollow, and is celebrated in Gaelic song as "*Caisteal Suinn mun iadh an linne*, but was never known as Dun Sween.

3. Caill Cuan!
gair tiged Ainnle, mo núar!
fa gair lim dobí (in) tan
is Naísi an-oirear Alban.

Caill Cuan!
Unto which Ainnle would wend, alas!
It was short I thought the time
And Naisi in the region of Alba.

Caill Cuan, which others translate "woodland coast" or "bay," Dr. Skene renders into a proper name, but he does not indicate its locality. In the last line of this stanza he substitutes *Ainnle* for *Nathos*.

4. Glen Laid!
docollainn fan mboirinn caoimh:
iasg is sieng is saill bruic
fa hí mo chuid an Glend Laigh.

Glenn Laid!
I used to sleep under a fair rock;
Fish and venison and badger's fat,
This was my portion in Glenn Laid.

Dr. Skene fixes the locality of Glen Laid on the western borders of Perthshire. He says: "Glend Laigh is called Glen Lochy, where is Benlaoidh." Where a name has undergone such a radical change, it would be satisfactory to have some proof of the transmutation, but Dr. Skene gives none. This locality is none other than a remote glen west of Kilmun, called Glenlaogh, from it flows one of the tributaries of the river Stryne or Dryne. It is printed on Black's large map of Scotland "Glenloo." This locality would seem to have been unknown to the transcribers of Turner's version, who, finding a resemblance in the triphthong of "laoigh" and "caoin," make it Glencaoin, probably they meant Glenken, a valley a few miles south-west of Kilmun.

5. Glenn Masain!
ard a crimh, geal a gasáin:
donímais collud corrach
ós inbir mungaich Masáin.

Glenn Masáin!
Tall its garlic, white its branchlets:
We used to have an unsteady sleep
Over the grassy estuary of Masán.

There seems to be no dispute about this locality, yet it is a mistake to call the valley stretching on the west side of Benmore in Cowal by this name, as it embraces several farms. Glenmasan, properly speaking, is confined to one farm in that vale. The Glenmasan of the MS. is evidently "Coire-mhasan," an upland glen resembling Gleanlaogh, but more famous in its pastures. The nether part of this farm is in the MS. pertly called "inbir mungaich Masáin," being descriptive of its fertile fields. At the confluence of the stream issuing from the "Coire" with that of the larger stream coming from Garrachra, the river assumes the name of Masan, and flows into the Achie. In a document of 1494, the farm of Glenmasan is called Invermasan.

6. Glenn Eitci!
ann dotogbhus mo céttig,
alaind a fidh, iar néirghe
buaile gréne Glenn Eitchi.

Glenn Etive!
There I raised my first house.
Delightful its wood, after rising,
A cattlefold of the sun is Glenn Etive.

Dr. Skene says: "Glend Eitchie, in another copy called Locheitchie, is Glenetive and Lochetive." I shall endeavour to show that Glenn Eitci is not Glenetive in Lorn, but Strathachie in Cowal—*Glen* and *Strath* being synonymous terms in old Irish, and the "t" in *Eitci* being dropped makes it *Echi* or *Achi.* The dropping of the "t" was a common occurrence in old Irish writing, for instance, *eun* (a bird) was spelled etn; *sgeul* (a story), scelt; *ach* (but), acht; *Finn* or *Fionn,* Fint. Achie or Eqhy, not Echaig, was the old name of this vale. In 1407, Robert, Duke of Albany, granted to Colin Campbell, of Lochow, the two-penny lands of Strath Achie in Cowal. In 1429, another deed is dated the Manor of Strath Achi, and in a sale of land in 1548, the boundaries lay between the water of Eqhy and the water of Masan. (Or. Par. Scot.) We thus see that the Eitci minus the "t" would be pronounced Achie or Eqhy.*

There are two sentences in this verse that deserve attention. The first, "*Glenn Eitci: ann dotogbhus mo céttig*"—"Glenn Etive! There I raised my first house." This would seem to refer to the origin of the college of Kilmun, as the style of the writing and the age of the gift are admitted to be of this date. Second, "*alaind a fidh, iar néirghe buaile gréne Glenn Eitchi:*" this indicates the beautiful appearance of the woods there at sun-rising. This description is not applicable to Glenetive, which runs east and west, the high chain of mountains stretching from Cruachan eastward shades the vale from the morning sun, and it does not shine on it at all in winter. On the other hand, few vales have a finer southern exposure than that of Achie, which runs south-east and north-west—the sun strikes on it from early dawn till the shades of evening.

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* Appendix G.

7. Glenn Urchán!
bahi inglenn diriug dromcháin,
nochar uallcha fer a aoisi
ná Nóise an Glenn Urchain.

Glenn Urchain!
It was the straight, fair-ridged glen.
Not prouder was (any) man of his age
Than Naisi in Glenn Urchain.

Dr. Skene says: "Glend Urchain is now Glenorchy." That such is not the case is obvious for various reasons. The poem of "Clann Uisneachan," or "Deirdri," was well known in Ireland, and floated in the traditions of the Highlands, but the version containing the valedictory poem of "Deirdri" was at first confined to the Glenmasan MS., and to such versions as copied from it. Macpherson does not seem to have seen the poem or he would have made capital of its topography. Dr. Irvine's (of Dunkeld) version, which was collected in the vicinity of Glenorchy, makes no reference to this or the other Cowal names, and this omission is still more striking in Archibald Fletcher's version. In his affidavit about the "Poems of Ossian," he declares that he "heard the poem of 'Clann Uisneachan,' or 'Deirdri,' recited about the year 1750 by Nicol M'Nicol, tenant, Arivean, in Glenorchy—that the M'Nicols in Arivean had been there for ages, and were celebrated for reciting songs and poems, particularly the songs of the Fingalian race." (H. S. Report, pp. 271-2.)

Yet, in Fletcher's version of 339 lines, there is no mention made of Glend Urchain or of any of the other Cowal names in the poem. The native name of this vale in the parish of Kilmun, which embraces several farms, is Gleann Mac Mhurcha; in a sale note of 1494, it is called Glen Macmurch. (Or. Par. Scot.)

At the time the Glenmasan MS. was written, families began to assume patronymic surnames. The vale of Mac Mhurcha is likely to have been owned by a progenitor of the Lamonts of Cowal. In the genealogical MS. of 1450, the Lamonts of Cowal are traced backwards to persons bearing this name. Thus: "*Ginealach ic Gillamont Murchadh Mac Fhearchair Mac Coll Mac ic Mhurchadh*, &c." So that the original name would be "Glean Mhurchadh," and would be curtly pronounced "Gleann Urcha," or "Glenn-Urchan."

8. Glenn Da Rúadh
mochen gach fer dana dúal
is binn guth cúach ar craib cruim
ar in mbinn ós Glinn Da Rúadh.

Glenn Da-Rúad!
My love to every man who hath it as an heritage!
Sweet is cuckoo's voice on bending branch
On the peak over Glenn da Rúad.

All copyists and translators are agreed on this locality; yet there is the greatest diversity among them about the origin of the name. One translator would define it as "the glen of the two roes," and another calls it "Darthula's vale," as if it received its name from the heroine of this poem, while a third calls it "*Gleann na ruaigc.*" Dr. Skene says: "Glen daruadh is now called Glendaruel," yet he gives no proof of the change. The topography of the poem of "Deirdri" is not the word pictures of a native, but the approximate definition of strangers, which the monks of Kilmun were. The second part of this verse shows this clearly, to wit, "*is binn guth cúach ar craib cruim ar in* *mbinn ós Glinn Da Rúadh.*"—"Sweet is the voice of the cuckoo on the bending tree above Glenn Da Ruadh." We have here pictured a definite tree, whereas it should have been termed "*a choille chrom*"—"the bending wood," an old forest in Caolghlean, deriving its name from a natural curve over which it extended. About sixty years ago this wood was an impassable jungle, the covert for native vermin, and in the winter a shelter for the red deer from the forest of Benmore. At that date it was levelled to the ground, charred, and conveyed for smelting iron to Furnace on the west banks of Lochfyne. The young shoots when left unenclosed were exterminated by sheep and cattle.

Gillies' fragment of 1786 is a true picture of this locality:

> "Gleann Daruaill . . . . . .
> An gleann is binne guth cuaich
> Is binne guth gaodhair fo'n choille chruim
> Os ar ceann ann Gleann Daruaill."

This would indicate that the pleasant voice of the hounds was heard in the forest; and it is yet proverbial among the old natives that the first notes of the cuckoo were expected to be heard in the "coillechrom."

Regarding the name I explained in the Second Part that it was derived from the bloody battle which the Scots and their allies had with the Danes in 918. With the exception of the Glenmasan MS., the oldest form of the name is "Glenrowale," literally, "the glen-of-red-blood." The loch, the river, and other landmarks still retain this name.

Patrick Lamondson was king's crowner for the district in 1445; in his returns we learn that the crown rents of the third part of Glenrowale amounted to £13 6s. 8d., and the king's marts for the other two parts of Glenrowale were 44.

In 1452, King James II. granted to Duncan, Lord Campbell, 20 mark lands in his lordship of Kowale, in the barony of Kanlochrowal.. (Or. Par. Scot.)

INmain Draigen is trén traigh,
inmain a uisce ingainimh glain:
nocha ticfuinn eisde anoir
mana tisuinn lem inmain.

Beloved is Draigen over a strong beach:
Dear its water in pure sand;
I would not have come from it, from the east,
Had not I come with my beloved.

In the Highland Society's Report of 1805, "*inmain uisge ingainimh glan*" is rendered "*Inmain Auichd a ghainimh ghlain,*" which they translate—"Lovely is Avich of the brightest sand." This mistake of *Avich* for *uisge* (water) is followed by Dr. M'Lauchlan and others. The Dublin and Turner versions render the phrase correctly. Dr. Skene says "*Inis draigende*" is "Inis Strynich on Lochawe." I shall endeavour to shew that "*Inis draigende*" and the "*Draigen is tren traigh*" of the Glenmasan MS. is not Inis Strynich on Lochawe, but the vale of Stryne and Lochstryne in Cowal, which still retain their ancient name in Gaelic. In a charter granted by King Robert III., in 1400, for erecting Rothesay into a royal burgh, parts of the boundaries given are "all in the Kyles of Bute and *Lochstryne* in the north." (Or. Par. Scot.)

The prefix *inis* has many significations in Gaelic—thus, *inis*, an island, also a sheltered valley, a field to graze cattle, pastures along a stream, and resting place for cattle—all these definitions except "island" are applicable to the beautiful valley of the Stryne. We find the term *inis* often applied to inland places, such as Inis-nan-con in Appin, Inis-nan-damh in Sutherland, and Inis-nam-bó in Lochaber. It is probable that the "s" in Stryne is an abbreviation of Inis. Tryne and Dryne are commutable terms; in old MSS., the "d" and the "t" are often substituted for each other. The descriptions given in the Glenmasan MS. are not applicable to the sluggish waters about Inis Strynich, which cannot be called the strong beach or the sounding or stormy shore; neither can its mossy silted beach be called the "water o'er the pure sand;" but Lochstryne is well known to be one of the most stormy lochs on the west of Scotland, and is well entitled to be called Draigen of the strong or stormy shore. So also are its waters entitled to be called "*uisge a ghainimh ghlan*"—"water o'er the pure sand." Whether we view the clear gravelly bottom of the Stryne that meanders through the vale, or that of the large sandbank at the end of the loch, the phrase "Lovely water o'er the pure sand" is suitable to either.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

IN ending the dissection of "Ossian's Poems," I must observe that there is one phase of the Ossianic controversy that has not hitherto been disposed of by either party, viz.:

THE AGE AND ORIGIN OF THE HEROIC TALES AND BALLADS ASCRIBED TO OSSIAN.

The abettors of "Ossian's Poems" rest much of the proof of their antiquity on the proper names and incidents contained in these ballads, and which are known to have existed before the time of Macpherson; while those denying the genuineness of the poems admit the antiquity of the heroic names in the ballads without attempting to solve their age or origin. This indecision has been the means of continuing the dispute, which serves only to shift the difficulty backward without solving it.

J. F. Campbell, of Islay, in his "Highland Tales," makes reference to Diarmad O'Duin, the mythological progenitor of the Campbells, as being one of the Ossianic heroes of the fifth century. If this name be admitted as a reality, why not admit of all the Ossianic fraternity?

Silvester O'Halloran, who wrote the preface to Miss Brook's "Reliques of Irish Poetry" (Dublin, 1789), says: "In the reign of Connor MacNessa, king of Ulster, about the year of the world 3950, A.M., according to our chronology fifty years before the Christian era, Ireland abounded in heroes of the most shining intrepidity, inasmuch that they were all over Europe, by way of eminence called the HEROES of the WESTERN ISLE. Among these were Cuchullin, the son of Sualthach; Conal Cearnach, master of the Ulster knights, and the sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Ainle, and Ardan, all cousins german." If these heroes ever existed, why not believe in those of Ossian?

Dr. Skene, in his "Introduction to the Book of the Dean of Lismore," proposes the question, "Who were the Feine of tradition, and to what country and period are they to be assigned." To which he replies, "The Feine belonged to the pre-Milesian races, and were connected not only with Erin, but likewise with Alban, Breatan, and Lochlan. They belong to the population which preceded the Germans in Lochlan, and the Scots in Erin and Alban." (Pp. 65-76-77.)

We may fancy how the manes of Macpherson rejoiced after suffering so long the sneers of his critics, to find Islay, O'Halloran, Skene, and others quoting evidence in support of the antiquity of his Fingalian heroes; but unfortunately for him the evidences of the three are based on the monkish romances of Ireland, and they stand or fall together.

If the early history of Scotland had been a blank, any plausible story might be palmed on the credulity of the reader; but unlike other modern nations in Europe, Scotland has an unique early history supported by credible contemporary annals—these evidences might be termed *internal* and *external*. The external records are those of other nations which refer to this country and its inhabitants. They extend from the second to the eighth century, while the internal extend from the fifth century to the dawn of modern history.

THE EXTERNAL

references to the history of Scotland are derived from Roman writers, viz.:—Tacitus, 78-84; Trebellius, 85; Hadrian, 120;

Lollius Urbicus, 140; Dio, 182-208; Eumenius, 296-309; Claudian, 400-410. After the departure of the Romans we have the history of the Welsh Gildas, 550; of our Cumin, 657; also Adomnan, 695; again of the venerable Bede, 731. All of these have written more or less about ancient Alban and its inhabitants, but make no reference to Ossian, Fingal, or any of these romantic heroes.

THE INTERNAL

evidences bearing on the early history of Scotland are chiefly derived from the "Chronicles of the Scots and Picts," published by the Government in 1867. The documents number about fifty, and are from every source that would shed any light on the early annals of Scotland. They embrace Scottish, Pictish, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh fragments. They are principally monastic records treasured in their institutions in early ages. Many of these are mere genealogies; others are rendered into historical rhymes, some in Latin, French, and Irish, giving a summary account of the character of the kings and the years they had reigned, while others give a more copious detail of history. Besides these the most valuable documents are the Irish Annals of Tighernac, Ulster, and Innisfallen. With these, and the histories of Cumin, Adomnan, and Bede, already referred to, we have ascertained dates to collate with the Scottish and Pictish Chronicles.

From the arrival of the Scoto-Irish colony early in the sixth century, these chronicles give a summary of their history, with the side issues of their contending with the Picts, Britons, Saxons, Danes, and Scandinavians, and as we descend time, we have the Chronicles of Man, and other records of that era, which tell of the prowess of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, to the struggle for independence by Wallace and Bruce. The era of the internal evidence thus extends over one thousand years, yet not a single reference is made in any of these documents to Ossian, Fingal, or their retinue.

THE FINGALIAN LITERATURE

was quite of a different class from the annals referred to, and evidently appears to have been pure romance.

In the English monasteries during the Middle Ages there were works of a similar kind, but written in Latin. These books were called the "Gesta." Spalding says concerning them: "Some of the collectors may have had no further aim than that of relieving the weariness of a monk's inactive life; and copies were multiplied in the convents for the benefit of those brothers who were disinclined to weightier studies."

The scope of the Irish romances was more general—being written in Irish, they not only entertained the monks themselves but the whole Hibernian nation. These heroic romances might have had a small beginning, but ultimately they became national in their character. Each province had its special champions.

Those of Ulster were termed the champions of the Red Tree, to which Cuchullin and the sons of Uisneach belonged.

Those of Connaught were the champions of Irros Domnan, to which Goll Mac Morne belonged.

Those of Munster were the champions of Clann Deaghadh, to which Mac Daire belonged.

And those of Leinster were the champions of Clann Baoisgne, to which Finn Mac Coul, his son Ossian, and his grandson Oscar, belonged.

The fame of these heroes, and their deeds in course of time, extended to Albin, and were incorporated in its traditions and topography.

The earliest form of this literature common to the Gaels of Ireland and the North Highlands was prose tales interspersed with pieces of poetry to give effect to the narrative. And as we have seen, many of the narratives had been the foundation of these romantic poems, which would indicate their late appearance. The Dean of Lismore is the first to ascribe Irish and Gaelic ballads to particular authors. A recent writer says: "What made Ossian so popularly famous as a poet was the myth sprung from connecting him with Saint Patrick, to whom, in his old age, he was represented as telling these tales. The poetic scenes between Ossian and Saint Patrick became very popular, and Macpherson, in an unfortunate hour, jumped to the conclusion that there was a great poet of antiquity—a Homer, in fact, of the Gael, and immediately the whole world resounded with the old hero's name, though he was no more a poet, perhaps less so, than any of his heroic companions." ("Celtic Magazine," April, 1887.)

Looking at these poems from every point of view, the only sound conclusion to arrive at is that they rest mainly on romances in prose and poetry, invented by monks of Ireland and Scotland during the Middle Ages, which in after years extended beyond the pale of the cloister in the traditions of the Irish and Highland people as tales and songs, growing like a rolling snowball as each reciter added his quota, according to his intelligence, memory, or fancy, which license accounts for the various forms in which they are found. Ultimately, they were rendered by James Macpherson and Doctor Smith into epic, lyric, and tragic poems, which have since their appearance puzzled and perplexed the literary world.

PART FIFTH.

THE PIONEERS OF EARLY GAELIC LITERATURE AND TRANSLATIONS.

PART FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF LEARNING IN THE HIGHLANDS PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION.

THE Gaelic language of the Scottish Highlands has descended to modern times both written and orally.

THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

of the country was confined to the ancient seats of learning, and was the work of Scoto-Irish clerics, consequently the early MSS. of the Scottish Highlands are similar in style to those of same era found in the monasteries of Ireland.

Dr. Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," speaks of the introduction of literature into the Highlands of Scotland by Saint Columba and his successors in Iona. His words are: "It is to the Columban Church issuing from Ireland that the northern Picts owed the introduction of letters and of written language. For centuries her clergy were entirely Scottish, and the instruction of the people and the education of the young was in the hands of the Scottish monks of the Columban Church. By them the standard of the written Irish was introduced. It became the language of the church, the monastery, and the school." (Vol. II. chap. x., pp. 457-8.)

This literary connection between Ireland and Iona was interrupted by the invasions of the Danes and Scandinavians between the eighth and thirteenth centuries.

Skene further says: "The rise of the Celtic chief Somerled, and the foundation of the dynasty of the Gaelic Lords of the Isles, in his immediate descendants, renewed the intercourse with Ireland, and we find that during the three centuries in which these powerful Celtic kinglets ruled over the Western Highlands and Islands—1156-1478—there was not only a close political connection with Ireland, but the literary influence was equally close and strong, and Ireland was resorted to for instruction in the literature and language of the country." (Pp. 459-460.) The original seat of Somerled and his immediate descendants being situated in southern Argyleshire, will account for almost all the known Gaelic MSS. being traced to the seats of learning in that district, viz., Iona, Saddell, Ardchattan, Lismore, and Kilmun.

THE ORAL LANGUAGE

on the other hand, floated down in the traditions and topography of the country, and it differs more widely from the idiom of the modern Irish than that in manuscripts. The spoken language of the Highlanders does not appear to have undergone much change for several centuries, as may be seen by place names, but it has often borrowed foreign phrases through its coming in contact with the church, law courts, and imported articles of commerce.

THE HIGHLANDERS' INTELLIGENCE.

Although but few Highlanders were early acquainted with the art of writing, that did not necessarily show their lack of intelligence. As a people, they were situated in a country whose construction, productions, and climate, were so diversified that to know the names and the uses of the things around them of necessity made the illiterate Highlander possess a wide degree of intelligence. We see this exemplified in the case of the poet Duncan *Ban* M'Intyre, who could neither read nor write, yet he composed a considerable volume of poetry, besides many other effusions which never got through the press. His themes consisted chiefly in the objects of nature around him, and the habits of the people in his rural district, in all containing several thousand words. Although *Donnacha Ban* has not an equal as a Gaelic bard, he was not singular in his knowledge of these native terms, for his poetic language was perfectly understood by the unlettered Highlanders of his day. What a wide contrast there was between them and the illiterate Lowlanders: around the latter the natural objects were few. To them and not to the Highlanders could Dr. Johnson's stigma be pertly applied: "A barbarous people, who had few thoughts to express, and were content as they conceived grossly, to be grossly understood." That this was the Lowlanders' condition, Professor Max Muller, in his "Science of Language," gives an instance from the evidence of a clergyman residing in England, where the labourers in his district did not require more than three hundred words to express all their wants. (Page 253.)

EARLY PRINTED GAELIC TRANSLATIONS.

There were early attempts made by monks at translating into Gaelic, and on various subjects, as may be seen by what still remains of their old MSS. But these efforts were fragmentary, and access to them was confined to few. It was only when the art of printing was invented, and when people were taught to read, that things new and old were truly brought to light.

The translations of the sacred Scriptures and of other kindred writings were really our earliest Gaelic printed translations. To them I will chiefly confine my remarks, and endeavour to show to whom we are indebted for these priceless boons.

In other countries the labours of the translators of the sacred Scriptures are an ever occurring theme to dilate upon. And not only they, but the more modern revisers of the Bible receive their due meed of praise. Yet, singular to say, there is a version of the Gaelic Scriptures admitted to be as faultless as any in other languages, and how few Highlanders know to whom we are indebted for the original translation.

If we ask, Who translated the Scriptures? the invariable answer is—The Old Testament was translated into Gaelic by the Rev. Dr. Stewart of Luss, and the New Testament by his father, the Rev. James Stewart of Killin. As to the Old Testament, this is a mistake, for the greater part, if not all, had been translated by others long before he was born. He was merely one of the revisers. It is admitted that the New Testament was translated by Rev. James Stewart, Killin, assisted by Mr Dugald Buchanan, the poet. But their task was not a difficult one when it is considered that they had Carsewell's works, the Shorter Catechism, the Brief Sum of Christian Doctrine, the Psalms and the greater part of the Paraphrases in metre, and the Confession of Faith, all printed in Gaelic, to guide them. Besides these, they had Bedell's and O'Donnell's Old and New Testaments in Irish.

JOHN CARSWELL OF CARNASSARIE.

The first place of honour is due to Mr. John Carswell, of Carnassarie, Kilmartin, the father of Gaelic printed translations, whose genius deserves more than a passing remark. Mr. Carswell was born in the parish of Kilmartin, Argyleshire, about the year 1520. His father was constable of the Castle of Carnassarie. At an early age young Carswell aspired to the church, no doubt with the advice and consent of his friend and patron, the Earl of Argyle. He was enrolled a student in the college of Saint Salvator, St. Andrews, in 1541. He seems to have been of poor origin, at least not opulent; for, according to Woodrow, he was enrolled "Johes. Carswell, pauper." In 1544, he took his degree of A.M.

The first notice of his public career is in connection with what is called "the rebellion of the Earl of Lennox," the father of Darnley. Lennox, having been deceived by Cardinal Beaton, who found the Earl of Arran a more pliable man, and being deserted by the French king, made overtures of service to Henry VIII. of England, endeavouring to raise a rebellion against the Scotch government. He was defeated near Glasgow, and obliged to fly to England. In the rebellion he was joined, among others from the west, by Mr. John Carswell, who followed him in his flight. At what time or in what circumstances Carswell returned, it is not known, but the events show that from the beginning Carswell was opposed to the policy of Cardinal Beaton. (Note by Dr. M'Lauchlan.) He does not seem to have remained long in exile—the cardinal being removed out of the way in 1546. In 1548, we find Carswell a conventual brother of the Abbey of Icolmkill or Iona, and he was rector of the parish of Kilmartin from 1553 to 1564; besides these he had charge of the chapels of Kilbride and Kilmachunaig, also of the Rectory of Kingarth and Southwick, and he was promoted to be chancellor of the chapel royal at Stirling.

The only one of these appointments he seems to have retained after embracing the reformed doctrine, was the rectorship of Kilmartin, which he held till appointed a titular bishop in 1564. In 1560 he embraced the reformed doctrine, was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, and was nominated by a committee of Parliament that year as superintendent of Argyle and the Isles.

The commission given to superintendents was to plant kirks, schools, and colleges, and visit the same; to suspend, deprive, and transplant ministers; and to eradicate all monuments of idolatry in the bounds assigned to them.

On account of the scarcity of preachers the labours of superintendents were very great. The first General Assembly was composed of forty-one individuals, six of whom are only styled ministers, and at the third assembly we find thirty-five members, twenty of whom bear ecclesiastical designations.

Carswell's conduct shortly thereafter, apparently, cannot be freed from inconsistency. Beginning in 1560 as one of the superintendents of John Knox, four years afterwards—1564—he becomes titular bishop of the Isles, and in 1566 is formally presented by Queen Mary to the bishopric of the Isles and Icolmkill.

What led him to make this sudden change does not appear on the surface; perhaps he could not see much difference between a Presbyterian superintendent and an Episcopalian bishop, as both with other duties had the oversight of the inferior clergy. It is obvious, however, that the real cause was that he could not continue the superintendency for want of funds to sustain him. Sixteen years after this date (1581), we learn from Rowe, the church historian, that "In the province of Argyle and Yles of whilk bounds as yit no (church) rentals have been given up." All that poor Carswell had to subsist upon would be the returns of the rectorship of Kilmartin, which he held from 1558 till appointed titular bishop in 1564, and also any pittance he would derive from the Argyle chaplaincy.

For several years after the Reformation, the Protestant clergy were in great poverty, and performed their duties under much discouragement, and Carswell was not an exception to these straits. In a letter which he sent to Mr. Campbell, of Kinzeancleuch, dated off Dunoon, 29th May, 1564, he says—"For this standis the mater in this cuntrie; gif we craif our stipendis, and remitt them nocht at thir plesouris, than our preaching is onprofitable, and gif we remit tham, than the travell can nocht be sustenit for falt of sustentation of the travellaries, and of some our travell nocht the better allowit, altho we became beggaris." (Woodrow's Miscellany.)

It is probable that while, in his straitened circumstances, he would be craving the people, they would sarcastically retort—

An Carsallach mòr a'n Carnasaraidh
Tha cuig cairte na chasan
A dhroll mar dhruinean na corra
'Sa sgroban lom gionach farsuing.

The great Carswell of Carnassarie,
With legs five quarters long,
And a hump like the rump of a heron,
With empty gizzard, greedy, and strong.

This indicates it was dire necessity which forced him to make the change, and that he might be able to enforce legal payment of the revenues if he were to continue his visitations.

Although his power in his new sphere became great, yet there is no charge brought against him either in neglecting or exceeding his original duties as superintendent. In fact, the new title was more nominal than otherwise. His name does not appear as a link in the unbroken chain of apostolic succession; he was only a bishop nominally, having never been canonically consecrated.

But the favours and comforts gained by the royal appointment brought also their snares, which led Carswell and his patron into court troubles, and apparently made his life ever afterwards miserable.

His acceptance of the bishopric gave great offence to the church, as at the General Assembly of 1569, "Mr. John Kerswell of Argile was rebooked for accepting of the Bishopric of the Isles, without making the Assembly foreseen, and for riding at, and assisting of Parliament holden by the Queen after the murther of the King." After this censure by the Assembly, he seems to have withdrawn from court, and died three years thereafter. The closing verse of his book may have been an echo of the state of his mind:—

Mairg darab soirbh an saoghal
Amhoirnd is mairg do ghebhadh
Damb ear srian ris an saoghal
Baoghal riar De gan denamh.

Woe to whom the world would prosper,
And who possess its gains,
If, tied unto its fleet affections,
The will of God he can't maintain.

It is not the motives for the change, nor the results that followed, that we have to consider here; but the benefits conferred on his fellow countrymen by the works he translated into Gaelic.

His zeal and energy in this undertaking were most commendable. It was only in 1565 that the "Book of Common Order," or guide for worship in the Reformed Church, was first printed in English, and two years thereafter Carswell translated the same into Gaelic, and passed it through the press without any help.

This great effort was not to exhibit his learning, as his humble apology clearly shows. He says: "If I saw any man of the Gael of Alban or Eirind that should undertake in aid of the Church of God to translate this book in the Gaelic language in which men could understand it, it would be very grateful to me, and I would not undertake the work; but since none such has been found, or if there be, I do not know him, who will undertake it out of love to God and to the church with more ability than my means and my power can bring to it. I hope that God will aid me in my defects and ignorance." Further on he says: "If any learned man find faults in this writing or composing of this little book, let him excuse me, for I never acquired any knowledge of the Gaelic except as any of the people generally"—"*acht amhain mar gach duine don pobal choitcheand.*" (Dedicatory epistle to the reader.)

Notwithstanding this humble apology, Dr. M'Lauchlan, in his preface to the new edition, says: "The work, which is now reprinted, is highly creditable to Carswell's scholarship, which was executed with an accuracy and a propriety altogether remarkable for the time."

The Gaelic of Carswell was not, as he says, that of the learned class, but what was spoken by the common people. To look at his language in print, it at first appears quite different from modern Gaelic, but on closer inspection, with the exception of a few obsolete phrases, all that it requires to make it intelligible to a Highlander of the present day is a little change to modern spelling and punctuation. For about two hundred years after his time there was very little attempt to change or improve his phraseology, as may be seen by comparing his version of the Lord's Prayer of 1567 with that of the Synod of Argyle of 1757.

Besides his translation of the Book of Common Order, commonly called Knox's Liturgy, he seems to have been the author of the Catechism included in that work. The editor of the new edition says: "The English version of the Prayer Book, given along with Carswell's Gaelic, is taken from the works of Knox, but he was unable to find any original for the catechism of Carswell, beyond the first few questions, which corresponded with Calvin's.

The editor also says: "Carswell seems to have executed a translation into Gaelic of Calvin's Catechism. This work was not published till nearly sixty years after his death, but there is internal evidence that the work was Carswell's. Reid, the author of the Bibliotheca, says: "Calvin's Catechism was published in 1631, and in all probability was the second book printed in the Gaelic language."

The great value of these translations was that they contained a compendium of the doctrine of the Reformed Church, and they were the only religious guides the Highlanders had for nearly seventy years.

We will yet see that Argyle and the Isles virtually were abandoned by the Presbyterian Church from 1581 to 1638; but at the latter period we find how heartily the people of Argyle embraced the second Reformation, from which we may infer that Carswell's translations continued there the leaven of evangelical doctrine, which prepared the people to embrace it anew at that memorable epoch.

THE SYNOD OF ARGYLE'S GAELIC TRANSLATIONS.

Next after Carswell, to the Synod of Argyle we are indebted for our early Gaelic translations. These are sometimes called Irish, at other times Gaelic, which were synonymous terms. Carswell invariably called the translations *Gaoidhealg*.

The first work resolved upon by the Synod was the Shorter Catechise.

THE SHORTER CATECHISE.

The following extract regarding it is copied from the Synod records:—

> "At Inveraray, 9th May, 1649.—Ordains that the Shorter Catechise be translated into the Irish language by the following, viz.: Mr. Ewan Cameron, Mr. Colin M'Lachlan, Mr. Nicol M'Calman, Mr. John M'Lachlan, and Mr. Dugald Darroch, and these from their Presbyteries respective bring their translations to be conferred and collected (?) agt. the next Provincial."

Their next undertaking was

THE BRIEF SUM OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

> "At Inveraray, 16th October, 1650.—The Assembly, taking into consideration how necessary it is for the increase of the knowledge of God, that the "Shorter Catechise" and the "Brief Sum of Christian Doctrine," comprised in few heads, be faithfully translated into the Irish language, do therefore ordain the samen to be translated by Mr. Nicol M'Calman and Mr. Ard. Reid for the Presbytery of Kilmore, by Mr. Dugald Darroch and Mr. Martin M'Lachlan for the Presbytery of Kinloch, by Mr. John Stewart and Mr. Ewan Cameron for the Presbytery of Dunoon, and Mr. Dugald Campbell and Mr. Ard. M'Callome for the Presbytery of Inveraray."

Their third work was the translating of, and rendering into Gaelic metre, the Psalms of David.

THE PSALMS.

This was resolved upon at their meeting on 5th May, 1653, when it was agreed to render them, the one into lines of eight, and the other into lines of six syllables.

As there is much uncertainty about the parties having claim to priority in this undertaking, before quoting further from the records, I shall endeavour to remove any existing doubt of their being the work of any other than the Synod of Argyle. *Firstly*—There are many people who are conversant only with Smith's and Ross's versions of the Gaelic Psalms, and who think they were respectively the original translations, whereas, there were eighteen known editions printed before Smith's edition, and thirty-eight editions before Ross's version.—(Reid.) *Secondly*—A misleading habit of the early revisers of the Psalms was that of printing the same stereotyped "Epistle to the Reader" on the fly-leaf of every new edition, indicating that the metrical Gaelic version of the Psalms was only then completed. It says—

> "Uimsin a Leighthora Chriosduidh rinneamur ar nditcholl na sailm gu hiomlan, eadhon ceud agus caogad Salm a thabhairt dhuit mar ataid na ngcur sios san leabharsa."

Which may be translated—

> "Therefore, Christian reader, we have endeavoured to give you all the Psalms, even one hundred and fifty, as they are printed in this book."

The epistle prefixed to the edition of 1702, from which I copied this extract, is also copied verbatim in the editions of 1715, 1729, and 1738, without any given explanations as to whence derived; from which it would be inferred that the Gaelic Psalms were finished with either of these editions, whereas they all copied the epistle from the Synod's edition of 1694. But *(thirdly)* the greatest doubts were started by Mr. Robert Reid in his "Bibliotheca-Scoto-Celtica," published in Glasgow in 1832, in which he says: "In 1659 the Synod of Argyle published the first fifty of the Psalms of David, with a second edition of the Shorter Catechism. Shortly after this time there was a rivalry between the translators of the Psalter under the Synod of Argyle and Rev. John (Robert) Kirke of Balquidder, who was likewise engaged in another translation of the Psalter. Kirke's translation was printed in 1684, and in 1694 the Synod published their translation complete. (Intro. 46.)

Reid tells the following ridiculous story about Kirke's efforts to have his version finished before the Synod's:—"During the time that Kirke was engaged at the Psalter he became aware of the intention of the Synod of Argyle to publish their translation, and such was his anxiety to have it finished first that he sat up the greater part of the night for many months, and during this time the method he took to chase away sleep was rather singular—he put a piece of lead into his mouth, and placed a basin of water in position, into which the lead dropped as soon as he fell asleep." (Page 22.)

It is surprising that a person of Mr. Reid's discernment should have given currency to such a silly story. It is patent to all readers of history that from 1661 to 1687, Presbyterian Church courts were not tolerated in Scotland. It was otherwise with Mr. Kirke, who was ordained by Episcopal authority, and continued an Episcopalian when he published his version of the Psalms in 1684. He was disturbed neither by the State, nor had he any cause to hurry, or be jealous of the Synod of Argyle, which virtually did not exist for three years thereafter.

Kirke himself does not pretend that the Psalms were not rendered into metre till his edition appeared—all that he alleges is that they were never till then brought to perfection.

In his petition to the Lords of Privy Council for privilege to publish, and prevent others from printing, his edition of the Psalms into Gaelic metre, Edinburgh, 20th March, 1684, his words are—"The petitioner hath been at great pains, diligence, and exactness in translating the Psalms of David in Scottish-Irish meeter, which hath hitherto been endeavoured by many, but never till now brought to perfection."

THE EVIDENCE OF THE FIRST METRICAL VERSION.

I shall now lead evidence to show that the whole book of Psalms was rendered into Gaelic metre by the Synod of Argyle between the years 1653 and 1661, and was ready for printing in 1694.

The first deliverance of the Synod to render the Psalms into Gaelic metre was at its meeting—

> "At Rothesay, 5 May, 1653.—"The Synod thinks it convenient the Psalms be turned to Irish mettre, so as they may be sung with the common tunes, in regard both the works may be done, and also that the ordinance of singing, through want of the Irish mittre, never has been gone about by such as are ignorant of the English language, so that in some congregations there is no need of the ordinance at all. Therefore, ordains the Psalms to be translated as follows, viz.:—The first fifty by the Presbytery of Dunoon; from which to ninety by the Presbytery of Argyle; from that to the one hundred and twentieth by the Presbytery of Kintyre, and from that to the end by the Presbytery of Lorn; recommending to all earnestly that diligence be used herein, that some accompt of their progress in this work may be had at the next Synod."

The next reference we have is, "Mr Ewan Cameron of Dunoon was enjoined by the Synod (31 October, 1655) to have the first twenty of the Psalms ready before next Synod." The second twenty were assigned to Mr. Dugald Campbell of Knapdale at same date, and the next ten to Mr. Alexander M'Laine of Strachur ("Fasti").

The following three minutes are extracted from the Synod records:—

> "At Inveraray, 27th May, 1658.—Whereas, the first fifty Psalms translated into Irish meetre being now perfected, and, being revised and examined by the Synod, are approven. Yet, seeing they are defective in syllabization, and the Synod adjudging the truest for syllabization to be Mr. Donald Simpson and John M'Kerras in Kintyre, ane old man able in the Irish song, and therefore the Synod appoints two of the translators, viz., Mr. Dugald Campbell and Mr. John Stewart, to repair into Kintyre, and to meet at Lochhead, the first Wednesday of July, and there, with the assistance of Mr. David Simson, John M'Marquis, and Mr. Dugald Darroch, to transcribe a perfect copy for the Presbytery, with an epistle to the reader prefixed, in which they are to give rules for right reading as need requires, which, being done, Mr. Dugald Campbell, at his return home bringing the copy with him, is to send for Mr Robert Duncanson, whom he shall show the right way of reading; and it is further fit to be known for the instruction of the printer, and the said Mr. Robert is to repair to Glasgow, and to attend the presser in so far as is needful for the printing of the Psalms to the number of 1,500 copies; it is, moreover, recommended to Mr. Alexander Gordon and Mr. John Cameron to endeavour to agree with the printer as they pass through Glasgow to Edinburgh.

It is seriously recommended to the translators to do what they can by themselves in translating the next fifty Psalms, and to make some considerable progress therein against the next Synod."

"At Inveraray, 27 October, 1658.—The copy of the Psalms being fitted for the press and the corrections of the Catechise added by Mr. Dugald Campbell and Mr. John Cameron, then Mr. Robert Duncanson is to go there with it to attend the press, and the collector to pay his charges, Mr. William Gordon in Inveraray being to agree with the printers, and to sell the books to the number of 1,200 copies of each."

"At Inveraray, 25 May, 1659.—Appointed that the fifty Irish Psalms, which are now printed, be made use of in congregations and families, and the several families bring home copies of them, and send for as many more as these congregations will need, and because of the people's unacquaintance with the said Psalms, that therefore so much as is to be sung at a time be first read and briefly explained, that the people may join in singing them with the better understanding, and that the rest of the Psalms be translated, &c., &c."

Scott's "Fasti" says: "Those Psalms from LI. to LX. were finished by Mr. Archd. M'Callome of Glassary, with the aid of Mr. John Duncanson of Kilmartin, while the fifty Psalms were being printed in 1659. Mr. Martin M'Lauchlan of Kildalton had those assigned to him from LXI. to LXX. Those from LXXI. to C. were rendered by Mr. Archd. M'Laine, Kilmodan. Mr. John Stewart of Kingarth and Mr. Alexander M'Laine of Strachur, by May, 1659. Mr. Dugald Campbell, Knapdale, was enjoined, 25 May, 1659, to translate the last fifty with the help of his son, Mr. Duncan."

Those last named were evidently not finished when the Synod met in October, as the following minutes indicate:—

> "At Inveraray, the second Wednesday of October, 1659.— The appointment of some members to meet for meetering the Psalms in Irish having failed, it is appointed that the same members meet altogether at Inveraray, the first Wednesday of February next, that the whole Psalms may be fitted for the press against the next Synod, of which time their charges will be paid," &c.
>
> "At Inveraray, 2nd November, 1660 *(Inter alia)*.—Mr. Dugald Campbell and Mr. John Stewart to meet at Inveraray, the 15th January, 1661, for perfecting the Irish Psalms, and the collector to give each of them two shillings sterling a day during their being at the work."
>
> "Inveraray, last Wednesday of May, 1661.—Appoints of new the brethren formerly appointed for the translation of the rest of the Psalms, to meet at Rothesay in the beginning of May next for accomplishing the said translation."

The Psalms appear now to have been finished and ready for printing, and all that was required was to attend the press in 1694, as we shall see in the next minute.

The reference to their printing is in the record of the Presbytery of Dunoon. The minute has no date, but comes in parenthetically between the minute of the last day of November, 1693, and the 15th day of August, 1694, and runs thus:—"The reasons why there intervened so much time between the preceding and the following Presbytery was (1) because Mr. John M'Laurin, of Kilmodan, was from December till the hinder end of April, at Edinburgh, watching the press for the Irish Psalmody and the Assembly, and (2) Mr. Hugh Brown, Lochgoilhead, was not able enough—a pain in his leg—to ride."

"PRIVILEGE TO THE SYNOD OF ARGYLE."

"Edinburgh, March 8, 1694.

"The Lords of their Majesties' Privy Council having considered an address made to them by the Moderator and remanent members of the Synod of Argyle.

"They hereby give a grant to the Petitioners and their successors in office, the sole power and Priviledge of Printing the Paraphrase of the Psalms in Irish metre; and discharge all others so to do, for the space of nineteen years after the Date hereof, under the pain of Confiscation of the same to the use of the Petitioners and their foresaid, and of being further punished as the Council shall think fit.

Extracted by me,

Gilb. Eliot Cls. sti Concilii."

THE CHIEF VERSIONS OF THE GAELIC PSALMS.

Before passing from the consideration of the metrical versions of the Gaelic Psalms, I may mention that Reid enumerates fifty-nine editions of them which he had seen or heard of before he published his book—" Bibliotheca-Scoto-Celtica "—in 1832, and many editions have passed through the press since. Of these only six editions deserve any special remark.

The *first* in order was the fifty Psalms published by the Synod of Argyle in Glasgow in 1659. It left also in manuscript the other one hundred Psalms which were ready for the printer in 1661.

The *second* was that of Mr. Robert Kirke, Balquidder, and published in Edinburgh in 1684. Prefixed to the edition is the quatrain :—

Imthigh a dhuilleachan gu dan
  Le dan glan diagha duisg iad thall
Cuir failte ar fonn fial nab fionn
Ar gharbh chriocha is Inseabh Gall.

Little book proclaim thy song,
  With holy zeal stay not thy pace ;
Salute the generous sons of Fionn,
  And Islemen of an alien race.

This quatrain has a close resemblance to Carswell's dedicatory poem in his book—page 24.

The *third* was published by the Synod of Argyle in 1694, and was superintended by Mr. John M'Laurin while passing through the press. It also has a quatrain affixed to the preface :—

Cha ne nguth binn acht guidhe threun
Cha teud, acht criodhe ceart ;
Cha ghlaodh acht gradh ni fuaim gu geur
A ngcluaisibh Dhe na bhfeart.

Not mellow voice, but fervent prayer ;
Not music strings, but upright mind ;
Not bellowing noise, but love unfeigned,
Will reach the ears of the Divine.

The *fourth* was by Mr. Alexander Macfarlain, of Kilninver, with which he rendered forty-five of the Paraphrases into Gaelic metre, and published it in Glasgow in 1753.

The *fifth* was thrice revised by Dr. John Smith, of Campbeltown, to which were added the Gaelic Paraphrases, and was published in Edinburgh in 1789. This is still the standard version of the Gaelic Psalms in the southern Highlands.

The *sixth* was published by Dr. Thomas Ros, of Lochbroom, in Edinburgh, 1807. This edition is called "An amended translation of Macfarlain's Psalter for the use of the northern Highlanders."

TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

This was resolved upon by the Synod.

> "At Inveraray, May 30, 1660.—The Synod being duly more and more sensible of the necessity of translating the Scriptures in Irish, though hitherto that has been hindered through multitude of great difficulties, both as to the translation and printing charges, nevertheless they resolve to essay it, and therefore appoints Mr. Dugald Campbell to make the first essay therein until the next Synod, and appoints all the brethren who have any written pieces of the Old Testament formerly translated in Irish to send the said parcels to Mr. Patrick Campbell, who is to transmit them to his father, that an accompt of them may be had at the next Synod."

> "At Inveraray, 2 November, 1660.—The Synod being desirous to take some effectual course for translating the Scriptures, and being informed that the Pentateuch and some other parcels are translated already, does ordain as follows." In short, the several books from Genesis to Canticles were thus assigned:—

The Pentateuch	to	Mr. Dugald Campbell, Knapdale.
Joshua	,,	Mr. Alex. M'Laine, Strachur.
Judges	,,	Mr. Archd. M'Laine, Kilmodan.
Ruth	,,	Mr. John Cameroune, Kilfinnan.
1 Samuel	,,	Mr. Robt. Duncanson, Dalavich.
2 Samuel	,,	Mr. John Duncanson, Kilmartin.

1 Kings	to Mr. David Simson, Killean.
2 Kings	,, Mr. Dugald Darroch, Kilchiaran.
1 Chronicles	,, Mr. Neil Cameroune, Inverchaolan.
2 Chronicles	,, Mr. Archd. M'Callome, Glassary.
Ezra	,, Mr. Hector M'Lean, Morven.
Nehemiah	,, Mr. Martin M'Ilvra, Kilninian.
Esther	,, Mr. Archd. M'Calman, Muckairn.
Job	,, Do., do.
Psalms	,, Mr. Patrick Campbell, Inveraray.
Proverbs	,, Mr. Archd. M'Calman, Muckairn.
Ecclesiastes	,, Mr. Dugald Campbell, Knapdale.
Canticles	,, Mr. John Stewart, Kingarth.

And the Prophets from Isaiah to Malachi—inclusive—were translated by Dr. John Smith, of Campbeltown, and printed in 1787.

This noble attempt of the Synod was soon blasted by the troubles that immediately followed, and their *Resolve* was not finally consummated for one hundred and forty years.

Although the several books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Isaiah, had been allocated for translation in 1660, we have no positive proof that they were *all* finished before the troubles that overtook the Church two years thereafter, still there is sufficient evidence in their records to shew that the greater number of the books was translated. Mr. Archd. M'Calman, Muckairn, translated Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, before October, 1657; and Mr. Dugald Campbell, Knapdale, translated the five books of Moses, before 2nd November, 1660, and the MSS. of the books of Chronicles were in existence in 1851. Besides those specified we learn that Mr. Campbell, of Knapdale, to whom the translations were entrusted, had received *several parcels;* particulars are not given. Doubtless all these, with Dr. Smith's translations of the Prophets were the foundation of the first Gaelic Bible published in 1783-1801.

The first Gaelic Bible was published in four parts octavo.

The first part, containing the five books of Moses, was edited by Dr. John Stewart of Luss, and printed in Edinburgh in 1783.

The fourth part, from Isaiah to Malachi, was translated by Dr. John Smith of Campbeltown, and printed in Edinburgh in 1786.

The second part, from Joshua to 1 Chronicles, was edited by Dr. John Stewart of Luss, and published in Edinburgh in 1787.

And the third part, from 2 Chronicles to the Song of Solomon, was edited by Dr. Stewart of Luss, and published in Edinburgh in 1801.

The MSS. of the first, second, and fourth parts were submitted for revision, before being sent to the press, to the following ministers, viz.:—Reverend Messrs M'Queen, Skye; M'Arthur, Mull; M'Laggan, Blairathol; M'Aulay, Cardross; M'Nicol, Lismore; Smith, Campbeltown; Stewart, Killin; and Stewart, Luss. Probably other gentlemen might be added to these for revising the last volume, as several of the above were dead before its publication. (Reid.)

When a second edition of the Bible was published in 1807, it was alleged that the fourth part, containing the Prophets, by Dr. Smith of Campbeltown, had been too freely translated, and the Rev. Dr. Stewart of Dingwall undertook to render that part more conformable to the original text. This, however, was only a matter of opinion, as another edition of the Gaelic Bible was printed in London that year, and the press was corrected by Dr. Daniel Dewar of Glasgow, who, in the Prophets, followed in many places the original translation of Smith in preference to the altered one of Stewart. (Reid.)

The Synod's next work was—

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I find no attempt to translate the Westminster Confession of Faith till the year 1707. The task of this translation was assigned to Mr. Daniel Campbell of Glassary, and Mr. Daniel

M'Laurin of Kilfinan; not Mr. John M'Laurin of Kilmodan, as given by the author of "Fasti," for Mr. John M'Laurin died in 1698, but Mr. Daniel M'Laurin, his brother, who was minister of Kilfinan at that date and till 1719.

The injunction to translate the Confession was addressed to Mr. Campbell of Glassary, by Mr. Dugald Stewart of Rothesay, moderator of the Synod in 1707. It says: "As for the Confession of Faith, Mr. M'Laurin is to meet you to finish it, but it is recommended to you to go through the version you have, and amend here and there what you think fit, that our work may be easier when we meet." (Fasti.)

The moderator could not have selected a more suitable person for the task than the minister of Glassary. As a specimen of his devotion to this subject his own words may be quoted—"We take parents obliged in baptism to educate their children in the true reformed religion, contained in the Word of God, and briefly summed up in the Confession of Faith, Shorter and Larger Catechism, &c., while, in the meantime, a great part of our auditories neither know nor read the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism. Therefore, these twenty-two years bygone, I used each Sabbath, before lecture and sermon, to spend half an hour in explaining a paragraph or two of the Confession of Faith, or a question or two of the Catechism—Larger or Shorter—so that by this time (1717) I have explained the Shorter Catechism twelve times over, and the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism four times." (Fasti.) The versions of the Confession of Faith Mr. Campbell had, and referred to by the moderator, doubtless were those taught to his own congregation.

We find that the Confession of Faith thus translated was printed by the Synod in 1725, being three years after Mr. Campbell's death.

The last work translated by the Synod was the Scripture Paraphrases.

THE SCRIPTURE PARAPHRASES.

The first hint about a Gaelic translation of the Paraphrases is an injunction of Mr. Dugald Stewart of Rothesay to Mr. Daniel Campbell of Glassary, 24th March, 1707, which says: "The Synod recommends to you and Mr. Daniel Campbell, senior, Kilmore, to see what you can do as to ane Irish Paraphrase upon all the Scriptural Songs, ere next Synod." (Fasti.) The minister of Glassary does not seem to have had a taste for this kind of work, as there is no reference to it in his numerous writings. This task was undertaken at a later date by Mr. Alexander M'Farlain of Kilninver and Kilmelford, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Dunoon, who received the thanks of the Synod, 5th August, 1751, for "the great pains he had taken in making out so just, exact, and beautiful a translation of the Scriptural Songs then transmitted to the Presbyteries, as an addition to the psalmody, being the original translations of Paraphrases (45) used in the Church of Scotland." (Fasti.)

The last standard work translated was—

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

This work was not published by the Synod, but by the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge," in Edinburgh, 1767.

Reid says: "About this time the attention of the public was more drawn to the literary and religious state of the Highlands. That year the New Testament was translated by the Rev. James Stewart, Killin, and other eminent Gaelic scholars. (Preface LII.) Mr. Dugald Buchanan, the poet, whose accurate acquaintance with the Gaelic language enabled him to render essential service to Mr. Stewart, accompanied him to Edinburgh for the purpose of contributing his aid in superintending the press." (Page 60.)

THE EARLY GAELIC LITERATURE TAUGHT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.

I shall now give a glance at the part each of the three religious denominations had in teaching the Highlanders their own language.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The literary remains of the Roman Catholic Church in the Highlands at and before the Reformation are all of a class. They chiefly consist of the lives of the saints, and of romantic tales about the Fingalian heroes. It is probable that, besides these frothy fictions, an undercurrent of the old faith taught by Columba would still linger in some remote corners of the land. Be this as it may, the prevailing literature of that age consisted in the fictions of the cloister.

Many attempts were made to reintroduce Popery in various forms in Scotland between the Reformation and the Revolution, though unsuccessfully.

EPISCOPALIANS.

The Episcopalian Church was supported by royalty, and countenanced by a majority of the aristocracy from the Reformation. During the long time it held sway in the Highlands, *as a Church* it made not the least attempt to teach the people to read their own language. If it had any native patriotism it had many opportunities and means at its disposal to teach and promote their language, but we find its chief aim from the beginning was to secure the temporalities. From 1567 to 1581, it extorted promises of renunciations, obligations, and contracts from the chiefs of Argyle and the Isles. (Iona Club Transactions.) But these engagements seem not to have been implemented, for in 1609, we find it again taking action. On this occasion it laid the blame of all the evil deeds of the people on their want of English.

In a court held at Icolmkill, by the rev. fader in God, Andro (Knox), Bishop of the Isles, 1609—

> "The quhilk day it being understand that the ignorance and incivillitie of the saidis Iles hes daylie incressit be the negligence of gaid educatioun and instruction of the youth in knowledge of God and good letters: For remeid quhairof it is enacted that every gentilman and yaeman within the said Islandis or any of them having children maill or famell and being in goodis worth thriescoir ky, sall put at the leist their eldest sone, or having no children maill, their eldest dochter to the scullis in the lawland and enterteny and bring thame up thair quhill they be found able sufficientlie to speik, read, and wryte Inglesche." (Ib., Vol. I., Part II., pp. 120-1.)

This act seems not to have had the desired effect on "the chiftanes and principall clannit men of the Ylles," for in 1616, we find at its instigation the Privy Council putting the act in force, which concludes—

> "Thairfor that they shall send thair bairnes being past the age of nyne yeires to the scollis in the Lawlandis to the effect that they may be instructit and trayned to wryte and reid and to speake Inglische; and that nane of thair bairnis sall be served air unto them nor acknawlegeit nor received as tennentis to his Majestie unless they can wryte, reid, and speik Inglesche." (Ib. 121-2.)

This was not all, for an act was passed by the Privy Council this same year, 10th December, which says:—

> "Forasmeikle that the Inglesche toung may be universallie planted and the Irish language which is one of the chief and principal cause of the continuance of barbaritie and incivillitie among the inhabitantis of the Isles and Highlandis may be abolished and removit."

About eighty years later, at the very time the Synod of Argyle was performing its good works in providing Gaelic literature for the natives, a counter effort was made by those who had no sympathy with either Gaelic or Presbyterianism, and they got an act smuggled through Parliament during the reign of King William (12th July, 1695), which runs thus:—

> "Considering that several inhabitants within the Synod of Argyle and the Isles are very refractory in paying the chamberlains and factors the rents of the Bishopricks of Argyle and the Isles, which now his Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow on erecting of English schools for rooting out of the Irish language, and other pious uses, within the Synod during his Majesty's pleasure."

PRESBYTERIANS.

At the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church was abolished by act of Parliament, and the Protestant Presbyterian Church was reinstated in its place. The Reformation of Scotland was a movement of the people directed by John Knox and his compatriots. Its recognition by the aristocracy was often for selfish ends, as many of them connived with the Roman Catholics during the transition. Spottiswoode says—"The Churchmen that were Popish took presently a course to make away all the manses, glebes, tithes, and all other rents possessed by them to their friends and kinsmen; and most of these had *subscribed*, thus getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of Church patrimony than were the Papists, or any other whatsoever." (Vol. I., p. 373.) It is computed that they seized upon three-fourths of the emoluments of the Church, leaving only about one-fourth of the endowments to the Presbyterian Church to support religion, education, and the poor, which crippled its action of usefulness from the beginning. But the Presbyterians were not daunted, though meeting these difficulties at the threshold. With their seven superintendents, a few ministers, assisted by exhorters and readers, they undertook to occupy the place vacated by the Romanists. To make up their deficiency one of the chief means employed was Carswell's religious Gaelic publications, in which he inveighs at the condition of affairs at the Reformation, saying, "Some of the literature of the Gael of Alban and Eireand is written in MSS. and in the remains of poets and bards, and, great is the sin of composers, writers, and their supporters of Gaelic in that they prefer vain, lying stories about the Tuath de Danond, about the sons of Milesius, and his heroes, and about Fionn Mac Cuill and his Feine, and of many others whom I shall not describe—the writers of these, with the view to the obtaining for themselves passing worldly gains—rather than to write, compose, and support the faithful word of God and the perfect way of truth." (Epistle to the Reader).

Carswell's best antidote for the fictions of the monks was the Gaelic translations he left as a legacy to the Highlanders of Scotland. It seems no attempt was made to appoint a superintendent or any Presbyterian minister to take his place; in fact the Presbyterians of Argyle and the Isles were abandoned by the Church for fifty-seven years—from 1581 to 1638—and this for want of sustentation.

Before the Reformation there were nine hundred and forty nominal parishes in Scotland (Hetherington), and as already remarked it would appear that the reformers at first attempted to occupy the parishes vacated by the Romanists, for from 1560 to 1581 the nominal parishes in Scotland were nine hundred and twenty-four, but in the latter year, owing to their straitened financial circumstances, their numbers were reduced to six hundred. Argyle and the Isles were not included in the lesser number—(Rowe)—and they remained without the pale of the Church till reinstated at the second Reformation in 1638.

At the memorable meeting of the General Assembly held in Glasgow that year, several ministers from Argyle are recorded in the sederunt, a much larger number of ministers is mentioned at the formation of the Synod of the following year, but for the next four years the Scottish Presbyterians were paralysed by the conduct of King Charles I., who during that time twice invaded Scotland in order to crush the Presbyterian Church. He did not succeed, but what he failed to do was carried out with rigour in Argyle by Alexander M'Donald, commonly called Alastar MacCholla Chittich, the commander of the army of Montrose. From 1643 to 1647, Argyleshire—at least what was owned by the Campbells—was completely harried. Of his raid in Argyle in the winter of 1644-5, Chambers says—"He burnt every house except the impregnable castles, slew, drove off, ate up, or otherwise, every four-footed beast, and utterly spoiled everything in the shape of grain, goods, and furniture. These ravages were extended through almost every peninsular link of the vast district, and continued for no less a space than six weeks, namely, from 13th December, 1644, to the 28th or 29th January, 1645. (Rebellion, Vol. II., pp. 1-24).

The Synod Records painfully testify to the condition of the district in these days. It says: "In October, 1644, the Synod could not convene at Inveraray or elsewhere according to appointment," nor yet in the month of May following. At its meeting at Inveraray that year we read "that in regard to the diverse and manifold distractions wherewith it pleased God to suffer this province thir years by past, it was impossible to keep the dyet appointed by the last provincial or any else before the present." And at a meeting held in 1646 it is said: "All the absentees are excused because of the troubles of the country, and of their being chased and scattered frae their dwellings—the Presbytery of Cowal having gone for shelter to the Lowlands—the Presbytery of Kintyre being under the power of the rebels—and none being resident in the Presbytery of Argyle and Lorn but such as were sheltered in garrisons." (New Ecclesiastical Statistics.)

* On the 25th May, 1647, an end came to these troubles. General Leslie surprised and routed the Jacobites towards Kintyre, and Macdonald, their leader, fled to Ireland, where he was killed.

Thus, from 1638 to 1648, Argyle was sorely tried by these disorders. For the next twelve years—during Cromwell's Protectorate—the Presbyterians enjoyed great liberties. No doubt Oliver, for political ends, suspended the General Assembly in 1653, but the Synods and Presbyteries continued to hold their meetings till the Restoration, subject to an occasional visit from an enthusiast of the English army.

It was thus when the Synod had peace restored that it com-

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* Appendix H.

menced to translate our standard works into Gaelic, but its good labours were brought to an abrupt end at the Restoration. Troubles then came in quick succession. In 1660 the Earl of Argyle was committed to the Tower of London. In 1661 the Recissory Act was passed annulling all the Acts of the Presbyterian Church from 1633. In 1662 three Acts of Parliament and Privy Council were passed prohibiting the meetings of Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, and depriving the greater number of the Presbyterian ministers of their charges.

Thus, from the year 1661 to 1687, the Presbyterian Synod of Argyle was not tolerated—virtually did not exist. In the latter year it availed itself of the Act of Indulgence or Toleration passed in July of that year, by which it was enabled to meet in the church of Kilmichael, Glassary. The sad words with which the Record begins relate to the state of the country during the prevalence of Episcopacy. They are thus—"The small remanent of the Presbyterian ministers yet extant after the public troubles, and residing within the bounds of the Synod of Argyle, being six, and three known as residing in Glasgow"—out of its forty-five parishes.

A SUMMARY OF THE ARGYLE TRANSLATIONS.

Mr. John Carswell, Carnasarie, Kilmartin, translated "The Book of Common Order," commonly called Knox's Liturgy, and passed it through the press in 1567. He also translated Calvin's Catechism, which was printed in 1631. These two books were the first printed in Gaelic either in Scotland or in Ireland. The great value of these translations was that they contained a summary of the doctrine of the Reformed Church, and they were the only Gaelic religious guides the Highlanders possessed for upwards of seventy years. Next after Carswell the meed of praise is due to the Synod of Argyle. In 1649-50 it translated into Gaelic "The Shorter Catechism" and "Brief Sum of Christian Doctrine." In 1653 it commenced to render the Psalms of David into Gaelic metre, and in 1658-9 it printed the first fifty Psalms, and in the following year the remaining one hundred were rendered into metre, were twice revised in January and May, 1661, and were ready for the press, but on account of the troubles that followed, these were not printed by the Synod till 1694. The translation of the Old Testament from Genesis to Canticles inclusive was resolved upon, 2nd November, 1660. Sixteen members of Synod had the several books assigned to them. There is sufficient evidence in the Records that the greater part of their work had been in MS. before the Restoration, and these MSS., with Dr. John Smith's translation of the Prophets, doubtless were the foundation of the first Gaelic Bible published in 1783-1801. Its next translation was "The Confession of Faith," prepared by Mr. Daniel Campbell of Glassary, and Mr. Daniel M'Laurin of Kilfinnan, and published by order of the Synod in 1725. Its final translation was forty-five of the Scripture Paraphrases, prepared by Mr. Alexander M'Farlain of Kilninver and Kilmelfort, and published in 1758. To the credit of Argyle be it said, the expenses of translating and printing the above publications were defrayed by the translators.

After this Mr. James Stewart of Killin with the assistance of Dugald Buchanan, the poet, rendered a translation of the New Testament into Gaelic at the request and expense of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and had it printed in 1767, but this was no great feat, as he had the above Gaelic translations in print to guide him, and also a copy of the Irish Old and New Testaments, which Sir Robert Boyle presented to the parish of Killin in 1688.

SUBSEQUENT GAELIC PUBLICATIONS.

There were a few other works of Gaelic literature published in the early half of the eighteenth century, but the greatest stimulus given to Gaelic literature was the appearance of Macpherson's "Ossian," and the controversy that followed. From that date endless poetic effusions, translations, and new editions of our standard religious works were published over the country from Tain to London. Among this din of book writing the original translators who did their work faithfully in trying times are now nearly relegated to the shades of forgetfulness, while others who merely followed at a distance in their wake are, like the husband of Betty, who shirked his duty in the hour of danger, ready to crow "Did we not do it well?"

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

SAINT COLUMBA'S JOURNEY TO INVERNESS; AND THE MIRACLES HE PERFORMED THERE.

EXTRACTS FROM

"ADAMNAN'S LIFE OF SAINT COLUMBA, BY DR. REEVES."

LITERALLY TRANSLATED.—BOOK II. CHAPTER 33.

Of the dead boy whom the venerable man restored to life in the name of the Lord Christ.

"AT the time when the holy Columba was staying for several days in the province of the Picts, a certain poor man, with his whole family, hearing the word of life through an interpreter, as the holy man preached it, believed, and believing was baptised, the husband with his wife and children and household. And after some days' interval one of the sons of the householder, being seized with a severe sickness, was brought to the borders of life and death. And the Druids, seeing him dying, began with much abuse to mock his parents, and to magnify their own gods as being stronger, but to defame the God of the Christians as weaker. And when all these things were told to the blessed man, he, being roused by zeal for God, proceeds with his companions to the house of his friend the peasant, where the parents were celebrating the sad funeral of their lately deceased son. And the saint, seeing them in very sad plight, comforts and addresses them with words of consolation, bidding them in no wise doubt the omnipotence of God. Following this up he puts the question, saying, In what room is the body of the dead boy lying? Then the bereaved father leads the Saint under the sorrowful roof, and he forthwith, leaving the whole crowd at the door, shut out, enters the sorrowful abode alone, where, at once, on bended knees, bathing the face plentifully with tears, he prays to Christ the Lord, and rising after kneeling, he turns his eyes towards the dead, saying: In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, arise and stand on thy feet. With this *authoritative* word of the saint, the dead (boy) opening his eyes came to life again. And the Apostle, holding his hand, raised him up, and steadying him as he gained his feet, went out and took him home with him and delivered him alive again to his parents. Then a shout of the people is raised; their wailing is turned to gladness. Let our Columba have this the miraculous gift of healing virtue common to himself with Elias and Eliseus, the prophets; and let him have, in the raising of the dead, a like portion of honour with Peter and Paul and John, the apostles, and among the companies of prophets and of apostles let this man, at once prophetic and apostolic, have an everlasting seat in the heavenly fatherland, with Christ who reigns with the Father in the Spirit's unity to all ages."

BOOK II. CHAPTER 34.

Concerning Broichan a Druid, who became ill for retaining a servant girl, and was cured through letting her go free.

"At the same time the venerable man asked of Broichan the Druid, the freedom for humanity's sake of a certain servant maid of Scotic birth; and when he, with a very hard and stubborn spirit, still kept her, the holy man speaking *addresses him in this fashion*—'You must know, Broichan, that if you be unwilling to free for me this foreign captive, you will die before I shall leave this province.' And saying this in presence of Brude the king, leaving the royal house, he went towards the river Ness, from which river, mark you, lifting a white stone, he said to his companions, 'Take note of this white stone through which the Lord will perform many cures of the sick among this heathen people,' and having spoken this word he thereafter went on his way. 'At this moment Broichan has been severely shaken, for an angel sent from heaven, striking him with force, has broken the glass drinking cup in his hand, from which he was drinking, in many pieces; and has left Broichan himself breathing out grievous sighs, and near to death. Let us for a little in this place wait for two messengers of the king, sent off speedily towards us that we may bring swift aid to Broichan, who is dying; he, seized with terror, is now prepared to free the servant maid.'"

When the holy man was still speaking these words, behold, just as he had said beforehand, two horsemen sent by the king come up telling all things which had been done in the king's castle about Broichan, according to the holy man's foretelling: both about the breaking of the cup, and about the seizure of the Druid, and about his readiness to free the servant; and they went on to say, thus—'The king and his friends have sent us to you, that you may bring help to Broichan, his foster father, just on the point of death.'

Having heard these words of the messengers, the holy man sends two from the number of his companions to the king with the stone which he had blest, saying—'If, first of all, Broichan shall promise to free the servant maid, then let this stone be dipped in water, and so let him drink of it, and forthwith he will recover health; but if he resist and refuse that the servant be loosed he will die at once.' The two men who were sent, obedient to the word of the holy man, come to the royal court narrating to the king the words of the venerable man. And when these words were intimated to the king and his foster father, they were greatly terrified; and the servant, released that same hour, is handed over to the messengers of the holy man. The stone is dipped in water, and marvellously and unnaturally floats in the water like an apple or a nut, and the blessing of the holy man could not be sunk under the water. Broichan, drinking of this stone, as it floated, immediately returned from the verge of death and recovered entire health of body. But such a stone preserved among the king's treasures afterwards accomplished many cures from sickness among the people by the mercy of the Lord, floating when dipped in water in a like manner. And, strange to say, the same stone when sought for by those sick, of whose lives the natural end had arrived, could by no means be found. And so, on the day of the death of king Brude, it was sought for, and yet was not found in the same place where formerly it had been laid up."

BOOK II. CHAPTER 35.

Of the manner in which Saint Columba overcame Broichan the Druid, and sailed against the wind.

"On a certain day, after the events above related, Broichan, addressing the holy man, says: 'Tell me, Columba, at what time you intend to sail?' 'On the third day,' said the saint, 'if God will and we be living, we propose to begin our voyage.' 'You will not be able,' said Broichan in reply, 'for I can raise a wind to oppose you, and can draw over you a dark mist.'

'God's omnipotence,' said the saint, 'is lord of all things, and in His name, and by His own government, all our movements are directed.'

Why use more words? On the same day, just as he had in his heart proposed, the saint came to the long lake of the river Ness, with a large company of followers. Then the Druids began to show their gladness when they saw a great dark mist, and a stormy wind blowing against him. And it is not wonderful that these things can sometimes, with God's permission, be brought about by the artifices of the bad spirits, so that even the winds and the seas are raised and become rough. For so, once on a time, legions of evil spirits met in the midst of the sea the holy bishop Germanus, when sailing from the Bay of Biscay to Britain in the cause of men's salvation, and, laying dangers in his way, raised the tempests and obscured the face of heaven and the daylight with a dark mist. And yet all these things, allayed by the prayer of the holy Germanus, even before he had ceased speaking, came to an end, and the dark mist was wiped away. Our Columba, therefore, seeing that the raging elements were raised against him, calls upon Christ the Lord, and, himself becoming more steadfast as the sailors hesitated, orders the sail to be raised right against the wind. And this being done, the boat, in the sight of the whole crowd, runs up right against the contrary winds, borne along with wondrous swiftness. And after no long space of time the contrary winds, to the wonder of all, veer round to the service of their journey. And so, with favourable winds blowing gently all that day, the boat of the blessed man sailed along, and was brought to the wished for haven. Let, therefore, the reader weigh well how great and good was this same venerable man, in whom the Almighty God manifested before a heathen people His own illustrious name, by bestowing on him such powers of working miracles."

BOOK II. CHAPTER 36.

Of the sudden opening of the door of the Royal Castle of its own accord.

" At another time, namely, in the midst of the first weariness of the saint in his journey to King Brude, it happened by chance that the same king, elated with kingly arrogance and proudly confident in his castle, would not open the gates on the first arrival of the blessed man. When the man of God noticed this, approaching the folds of the gates with his companions, and first impressing the mark of our Lord's cross on them, he then knocks and places his hand against the doors, which forthwith were of their own accord opened with all swiftness, the bolts being thrust back with force. And by these gates, opened at once, the saint thereupon enters with his comrades. And the king learning this, himself and his council in great terror leave the house and go forth to meet the blessed man very respectfully, and address him very pleasantly with soothing words, and from that day ever after, and for all the remaining days of his life, the same prince honoured the holy and venerable man with very great respect, as was right and proper."

APPENDIX B.

ARGYLE'S INSURRECTION IN 1685.

ALANGREG, ELANGREG, ELANGHEIRIG, AND EILEAN DEARG.

EILEAN DEARG at present is a green little island, with the ruins of the old castle. It is likely to have derived its name *Dearg* from the fringe of red tangle surrounding it, in contradistinction to *Eilean dubh a Chaladh*, or the black isle of Caladh, covered with heath, on the other side of Lochruel.

The Campbells of Eilean Dearg, who preceded the present Campbells of South Hall, in the lower part of their estate, are celebrated in history and Gaelic song. But I pass over their fame, and confine my remarks to the eventful history of this island in 1685. Under the walls of its castle the Earl of Argyle stationed his fleet, and made the last stand, when he unsuccessfully invaded the kingdom in that year.

The story may be thus told:—

In 1681 the Jacobite nobles became jealous of the great possessions and powerful influence of the Earl of Argyle; and James, Duke of Albany and York, who virtually ruled the kingdom then, being a bigoted papist, cordially hated him for his protestant leaning.

He was, therefore, conspired against, and a plot was laid to entrap him about taking the Test or Oath of Allegiance. After some scheming, he was seized and confined, and after a mock trial, was convicted of treason; but, while awaiting the sentence of death from London, he escaped from his confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, in the garb of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his stepdaughter. After many narrow escapes, he fled to London, and afterwards to Holland.

The Scottish exiles in Holland met at Amsterdam on 17th April, 1685, when it was resolved to invade Scotland, and to make war against James the Seventh. They unanimously elected Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to be their captain-general.

On the first of May the earl and his followers sailed from the river Vhli, in three ships named "Anna," "Sophia," and "David," laden with arms and ammunition, but having on board less than three hundred men, all told.

The voyage at first promised well. Within a week they arrived at the Orkney Islands. Being in need of a pilot, Argyle, very unwisely, allowed two of his principal men to land, who were seized at once by the Bishop of Kirkwall. As a reprisal the earl seized a few persons, and sailed down the west coast of Scotland.

Having arrived in the Sound of Mull, he sent his son Charles ashore among his friends and former retainers, but to little purpose. Burnet gives the reason of his failure as follows: "Argyle found that the early notice the council had of his designs had spoiled his whole scheme. For they brought (almost) all the gentlemen of his country to Edinburgh, which saved them, though it helped his ruin." (History of his own time, Vol. III., Book IV., page 21.)

The earl continued with his fleet, and sailed round to Campbeltown, where he issued his manifesto, drawn up in Holland. To rouse his kinsmen thoroughly, he also resorted to the fiery cross. Macaulay says: "Zealous as Argyle was for what he considered pure religion, he did not scruple to practise one rite, half popish, half pagan. The mysterious cross of yew, first set on fire, and then quenched in the blood of a goat, was sent forth to summon all the Campbells from sixteen to sixty." (History of England, Vol. I., chap. v., p. 552.)

After considerable delay at Campbeltown, waiting for reinforcements, news at last came that the men of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck (who resided then at the castle of Carnasarie) were ready. The earl ordered him to march them to Tarbert. Thither the earl came with three companies from Islay, three companies from Kintyre, and a troop of horse under Colonel Rumbold.

At Tarbert about a thousand men, chiefly from Sir Duncan, joined the earl. Here he marshalled his little army into three regiments. The whole force having assembled, numbering about eighteen hundred men, Sir Duncan Campbell, John Ayloffe, and Robert Elphinstone of Lapness were made colonels; Alexander Campbell of Barbreck, James Henderson, John Fullarton, and John Campbell, majors. Inferior officers were also appointed, and the whole put into the best possible order.

Here the rivalry which had began in Holland and continued during the whole course of the expedition, became more violent than ever. The great question was, whether the Highlands or the Lowlands were to be the seat of war. The earl was desirous to re-establish his authority in his own country, drive out the Marquis of Athole, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of the shire of Argyle, and get possession of his family seat at Inveraray. Then he might expect many hesitants to flock to his standard, and with such a force he would be able to defend that rough country against superior forces, and secure an excellent base for offensive operations. Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, the leaders of the Lowland faction, were determined to divide the forces, especially the latter, who exclaimed that if nobody else would go to Ayrshire, he would go alone with a corn fork. (Woodrow's History, Book III., chap ix.)

The Lowland faction prevailed. The forces were conveyed from Tarbert to the island of Bute. The van of the army under the command of Sir John Cochrane, with Colonel Elphinstone and Major Fullarton, was sent to the Lowlands, but, finding the English frigates cruising on the Ayrshire coast, they did not attempt landing there, but sailed up the Clyde to Greenock, where they had a skirmish with a band of the royal militia, which they put to flight, but they could not persuade the inhabitants to revolt.

All they secured was forty bolls of meal, with which they returned, and rejoined the earl in the island of Bute.

The earl renewed his proposal to make an attempt on Inveraray, but he was stoutly opposed. The seamen sided with Hume and Cochrane, but the Highlanders were absolutely at the command of Macailean-more. There were reasons to fear that the two parties would come to blows, and the dread of the consequences inclined the leaders to compromise the matter.

The castle of Eilean Dearg (the subject of this note), situated at the mouth of Lochruel, was chosen to be the chief place of arms, and thither their fleet sailed. The military stores and provisions were disembarked there. The squadron was moored on the east side of the island, where it was protected by rocks and shallows, and a battery was planted on the other side, mounting several cannons. While this was being accomplished the land forces, including Rumbold's troops, were transported across the Kyles of Bute to Cowal, and made their way up Lochruelside till they arrived opposite the castle of Eilean Dearg.

The earl having resolved to be free once for all from the cabals of his compatriots, determined to make a descent on Inveraray. The number who volunteered to accompany him was about 1,200; the remainder stayed behind at the castle with the fleet. He divided his volunteers into two battalions, one of which was under himself, and the other he gave in charge to Colonel Rumbold, and sent him to guard a pass in which the Marquis of Athole might attack him. (Woodrow's History, Book III., chap. ix.) I have generally followed Mr Woodrow's narrative of this affair, but differ from him on this point. Instead of sending Colonel Rumbold to guard a pass, it ought to be said that he was sent to clear a pass that lay between Eilean Dearg and Inveraray, through which the earl and his army had to march. If Colonel Rumbold was merely to guard the pass, he would require to remain there until the earl and his battalion got safely through, but, instead of that, Colonel Rumbold cleared the pass, pushed forward, and took the castle of Ardkinglass before the earl arrived there. The tradition of the district bears me out in this idea. The pass in question is a deep watercourse on the farm of Kilbridemore in Glendaruel, on the way leading to Inveraray, called Sloc-na-muice. At the head of this pass the Marquis of Athole had an army encamped to intercept the earl. There is a mound of earth raised on the spot, which is yet called Druim-nan-Atholach. The lower end of the pass, called Tigh-nan-cuiltean, was tenanted by Maolmoire MacNeacail, the great-great-grandfather of Mr. Donald M'Nicol, who now (1874) farms the same lands. It is said that Maolmoire rendered eminent assistance to Colonel Rumbold in routing the Atholeans.

The natives of Glendaruel seem to have followed the earl's army. There is a tradition in our family that my great-great-grandfather, James Brown, who resided at Tomlia, fought with the earl's army at Lochfynehead, and that, while the battle was going on, his wife at home resorted to *Slinnsearachd*—a pagan art of divining or foretelling, through the shoulder blade of a sheep, the result of the battle.

The earl followed in the wake of Colonel Rumbold, was informed of Maolmoire's bravery, and accosted him in Gaelic—"*Ciod a bheir mi dhuit airson do thapachd?*" Maolmoire replied—"*Tigh-nan-cuiltean, gu brath, gu brath.*"

Argyle was rather taken aback at the demand, and gruffly said—"*A bhodaich, nach fhoghnadh e dhuit ri d' bheo, ri d' bheo.*"

I presume Maolmoire had to be content with a life time of it (if he got that same), as none of his descendants seem to have been called barons or bonnet-lairds.

I have already mentioned that Colonel Rumbold had taken the castle of Ardkinglass. The Marquis of Athole made an attempt to retake it, but Argyle having now arrived, the marquis, finding his mistake, made a halt at the head of Lochfyne. Argyle, with five companies of foot, and two of horse, at once went in person, and attacked the enemy, and put them to flight. After this skirmish, Argyle returned to Ardkinglass, and intended next day to march on Inveraray. But, unhappily, news came that the English men-of-war were forcing their way through the Kyles of Bute, and that some of the gentlemen who would not accompany him to Inveraray, and who had differed from him all along, now threatened to quit all and go to the Lowlands. The earl was, therefore, obliged to return at once to Eilean Dearg, which he did with three companies of foot, ordering the rest of his army, under Colonel Rumbold and Sir Duncan Campbell, to meet him at the kirk of Glendaruel. In passing, I may mention that Sir Duncan and his forefathers were not strangers in Glendaruel, being proprietors there, and deriving their title from a farm in that district. They also seem to have taken an interest in its early ecclesiastical affairs. Sir Dugald Campbell, the first baronet of this family, was knighted by King James the Sixth, and got a charter under the Great Seal in 1617 of certain lands in Bute. He was again, by King Charles the First, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, by royal patent to himself and his male heirs, dated 28th March, 1628. This Sir

Dugald has his crest and initials, with date 1610, engraved in relief on a corner-stone of the parish church of Kilmodan in Glendaruel. (See Douglas's Baronage.)

To return, when the earl came to Eilean Dearg, he resolved to equip his flotilla which lay there, and attack the English frigates. It consisted of three ships brought from Holland, four prizes caught at sea, and thirty large cowans or fishing boats, and he had a thousand men at his command. But another mutiny was raised among the seamen by those who still embarrassed him, so that his plan had to be abandoned, and he himself forced into the measures of those who were resolved at all hazards to be off to the Lowlands.

All now was confusion and dismay. The provisions had been mismanaged, and there was no longer food for the forces. The highlanders, consequently, deserted in hundreds. The fleet being hemmed in by the royal frigates, an escape by sea was impossible. He had no alternative but to face a roundabout overland march. Before starting, he left the keeping of the castle to Colonel Robert Elphinstone of Lapness, with one hundred and fifty men, with orders, if he was not able to hold out, to blow up the magazine and either run the ships ashore or sink them.

The earl, then, with the fragment of the army which had not deserted, retraced his movements to the kirk of Glendaruel, already agreed upon, and held a council of war there with Sir Duncan and Colonel Rumbold. Before proceeding to the Lowlands, they resolved to go in pursuit of the Marquis of Athole, which they did for several days, but to no purpose, as he constantly fled before them.

Argyle then marched to the Lowlands towards the shores of Lochlong, passed that arm of the Clyde in boats by night (probably at Ardentinny), went round the Gareloch, and across the river Leven. On the way thither he had several skirmishes with bands of militia, which he always put to flight. But on arriving at Dumbarton he found a strong body of regular and irregular troops prepared to encounter him. He was for giving them battle, but Hume and his party declared that to engage the enemy would be sheer madness, that the best course was to remain quiet till night, and then give the enemy the slip. Since it was overruled not to fight, he was obliged to retreat. There was a plausible possibility that by decamping secretly and hastening all night across the moor they might gain many miles on the enemy before the morning, and might reach Glasgow without further trouble. The watch fires were left burning, and the march began, but now came the climax of their disasters. The guides mistook the way across the moor, and led the troops into boggy ground. Military order could not be preserved. Every sight and sound were thought to indicate the approach of the pursuers. The army became a disorderly mob, and many ran away under cover of the night. At daybreak, only five hundred fugitives, wearied and dispirited, assembled at Kilpatrick.

All thoughts of prosecuting the war were now at an end. The leaders fled for safety in different directions. Argyle crossed the Clyde near Kilpatrick, assumed the dress of a peasant, and feigned to be the guide of his friend Major Fullarton. They journeyed together towards Inchinan, to a ford where the streams of the Black and White Carts meet, which was guarded by a band of militia. Questions were asked, and the earl was suspected and seized. He broke loose from his captors, sprang into the water, and stood at bay for a short time against five assailants, but having no arms but his pocket pistols, which being wet in consequence of the plunge would not go off, he was at last struck down with a broadsword, secured, taken to Edinburgh, and, after suffering great indignities, was beheaded, not for the offence of this rebellion, but pursuant to the mock trial and sentence pronounced on him in 1681.

The sequel of the story about the castle of Eilean Dearg has now to be told. I have already observed that the keeping of the castle was given to Colonel Elphinstone of Lapness; that he was instructed, if not able to hold out, to blow up the magazines and sink the ships. Two days after the earl and his forces had departed, the English frigates, under command of Sir Thomas Hamilton, came in sight of the castle. The governor and his garrison became panic-stricken, landed, and betook themselves for safety among the rocks and woods of Portaneilan, without firing a shot. The ships he entirely neglected, but previous to flight he laid a train of powder to blow up the magazine. To crown his incapacity for such a charge, he left behind him the few prisoners taken in the Orkneys, who being at liberty immediately acquainted the commanders of the English frigates (who came ashore in longboats), where the train of powder lay, which they removed. They then gutted the castle of its contents, sapped its foundations, blew it up, left it a complete wreck, and then seized the ships. Among the booty was a standard bearing the inscription—" Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism."

APPENDIX C.

THE GIFTS OF THE LAMONTS OF COWAL TO THE MONASTERY OF PAISLEY.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTER OF THE MONASTERY OF PAISLEY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1230 AND 1246.

"DUNCAN, son of Ferchar, and Laumun, son of Malcolm, grandson of said Duncan, pray for eternal salvation in the Lord to all the sons of the holy mother church—to those living at present as well as to those in time to come:—

> "Know that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter, confirmed to God, and to Saint James and to Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, the church of Kilinan for pure and perpetual charity, with all its just pertinents, together with every right which appertained to us, in the exercise of our patronage. We have given them also that penny land of Kilmore, which lies above Lochgilp, with the chapel of Saint Mary, built in said land. Further, we have conferred and given over to the aforesaid, from motives of piety, the three halfpenny land which we and our predecessors possessed at Kilmun, with the fishings, and all others their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of Kilmun in respect of the patronage. To be held and possessed freely and peaceably as they hold and possess other charitable bequests given to them.

"These being witnesses:—Lord Walter, son of Alan, justiciary seneschal of Scotland; Lord Malcolm, son of the Count of Lennox; Lord Simon Fleming, and Lord Hugh, his brother; Luke, chaplain of Paisley; Roger, seneschal of Paisley; Nachten, rector of the church of Killinan; Roger, vicar of Kilbarchan; Alexander of Smalham; and William of Cadiou, clergymen; John of Perthec; and many others."

CONFIRMATION OF THE CHURCH OF KYLINAN BY ANGUS, SON OF DUNCAN.

"To all the faithful of Christ who will hear of, or see, this present deed. Angus, son of Duncan, son of Ferchar, wishes eternal salvation in the Lord.

"Know, all of you, that I have examined the charter of the said Duncan, my father, and Lauman, his grandson, sealed with their seals not erased nor vanished—become illegible from age—without defect—without damage in in any of its parts as follows:—To all the sons of the holy mother church, as well present as future, Duncan son of Ferchard, Lauman son of Malcolm, and grandson of said Duncan, eternal salvation in the Lord. Know ye that we have given, granted, and confirmed, by this our present charter, to God and Saint James and Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving God, in pure and perpetual alms, the church of Killinan, with all its just pertinents, and with the whole rights which belong to us in said church, in respect of the patronage. We have also given and granted them the penny land of Kilmore, which lies above Lochgilp, with the chapel of Saint Mary, built on said land. Further, we have confirmed and given over to the aforesaid, from motives of piety, those three halfpenny lands, with the fishings, and all others their just pertinents and pendicles, and with the whole right which belonged to us in the church of Kilmun, in respect of the patronage. To be held and possessed as freely and peaceably as they hold and possess all other charitable bequests given to them. This gift and bequest I, Angus, holding to be firm and valid, grant, and, by this my present charter, confirm to the foresaid abbot and convent all the foresaid things or premises, for me and my heirs, as far as they relate to us or may relate to us. Those things being excepted which belong to the foresaid Lauman, or to his heirs, or may belong to them of the foresaids. To be held and possessed in all time for pure and perpetual charity, free and released from all secular service and demands, as freely and peaceably as any charity in the kingdom of Scotland is held and possessed. Both I and my heirs shall warrant and defend our grants, as far as belong to us, or can belong to us, for the forenamed abbot and convent as afore written, in all, through all, and against all. And, lest that should perish in dark oblivion which has been done by me in holy devotion, for greater testimony I have caused the seal of the venerable father Lord Laurence, Bishop of Argyle, together with the seals of Mr. Walter Mortimer, Dean of Glasgow, of Lord Robert, Treasurer of the same place, with the impression of my own seal, to be attached to this present document.

"Given at Paisley, on the day of March succeeding the discovery of the holy cross in 1270th year of Grace, these being witnesses :—Mr. Adam, of Lochmaben; Mr. Alexander MacKennedy; Lord David, chaplain, son of Ferchar; Maurice, of Luss; Richard, of Dundomer; Malmur, son of Lauman; and others."

A DEED OF SASINE AND POSSESSION OF THE PENNY LAND OF KYLMORE, BY ANGUS, SON OF DUNCAN, THE SON OF FERCHARD.

"To all the faithful of Christ, who will see or hear of this writing. Angus, son of Duncan, son of Ferchar, greeting—eternal happiness in the Lord.

"Know, all of you, that I have granted and conveyed by this present document to the abbot and convent of the monastery of Paisley, full and peaceable possession and sasine of the penny land of Kilmor, near Lochgilp, with the chapel of Saint Mary built on said penny land, with all other privileges belonging to, and advantages in connection with, the forementioned land, without any reserve. Wherefore, I will and grant that the foresaid abbot and convent, either personally or by means of their procurator, in my stead, and with my authority, enter upon, and take sasine and possession of the said penny land, with all things thereunto belonging, that they may have, hold, and enjoy the same, as they may find to be more to their own advantage. In testimony thereof, at my instance, to this deed is attached the seal of the reverend father, Lord Laurence, Bishop of Argyle, together with my own seal.

"Given at Paisley, on Wednesday immediately following the translation of Saint Thomas the martyr, in the year of Grace 1270. These being witnesses:—Lord Gilbert, Archdeacon of Argyle; Mr. Adam, of Lochmaben; Mr. Alexander MacKennedy; Lord Alan, chaplain of the Lord Bishop of Argyle; Reginald, son of Macrath; Maurice, son of Gilmekessoch; John, the writer; Alexander, of Rutherglen; Finlay, of Clourotrich; Malmor, son of Lauman; Walter Pycnoch; and many others."

CHARTER OF THE HALFPENNY LAND BELONGING TO THE CHURCH OF KYLLINAN, GRANTED BY MALCOLM, SON AND HEIR OF LAUMAN.

"To all the faithful of Christ who will see or hear this deed, Malcolm, son and heir of Lauman, deceased, eternal happiness in the Lord.

"Know, all of you, that I, for myself and my heirs, for the salvation of the souls of my forefathers, have given, granted, and confirmed to God, and to Saint James, and to Saint Mirren of Paisley, and to the monks there serving or who may serve God in all time coming, for pure and perpetual alms, the halfpenny land belonging to the church of Kyllinan, with the right of patronage of said church, together with every other right belonging to the above-mentioned land and church, or which can by law at any time belong to them, and with every other privilege which is or had been invested in me and my heirs in said land and church, with all thereunto belonging, or which at any time or by any other right will be vested in all time to come, and that those things already said, all and singly, may in all time coming have force and perpetual validity, I have to the present deed attached my seal, and because my seal is less known I have caused the seal of Lord James, seneschal of Scotland, to be attached to those presents.

"Given at Paisley, on the day of Sabbath, on the morrow of Saint Mary Magdalene, in the year of Grace, 1295, the following being witnesses:—Mr Gilbert Templeton, rector of the church of Rothir; Finlay, chaplain of Lord James, seneschal of Scotland, perpetual vicar of Kyllinan; Alpin, son of Donald; Stephen of Kent, vicar of Inyrkip; Lord Hugh, chaplain of the parish of Paisley, vicar of Kylmacolm; and many others." (Regs. Monas. de Passelet, pp. 132-138.)

About two centuries after the above grants were conferred, John Laumund of that ilk *(nobilis vir Johannes Lawmund)* disputed with the abbot of the monastery of Paisley about the validity of his claims for the patronage of the church of Killinan. After long litigation the following settlement was arrived at.

INSTRUMENT OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT FINAN, BETWEEN THE ABBOT AND CONVENT OF PAISLEY AND JOHN LAUMUND.

"In the name of God. Amen.

"By the tenor of this public document, to the everlasting remembrance of the matter, lest by the lapse of ages that perish from memory, which from motives of charity has been piously bestowed, to the holy places and to the ministers of God successively by the faithful of Christ, and which by the posterity of these faithful, their successors has been confirmed, strengthened, and last of all, has been approved of and ratified to the praise of the all powerful God, and to the extension of divine worship, for the purpose that the servants of God themselves may quietly rejoice in the things which they have justly acquired.

"Be it evident and known to all, both now and in future time, that in the year 1466, from the incarnation of our Lord, on the 5th day of the month of August, in the 14th year of indiction, in the 2nd year of the most holy pontificate of our Lord and Father in Christ, Paul the 4th, by the providence of God, Pope, in presence of our notaries and witnesses hereinafter subscribed. Henry, the reverend Father in Christ, by the will of God abbot of the monastery of Paisley and the convent there, of the one part, and John Laumand of that ilk, a gentleman, of the other, being met together, as is written below, and personally set together, between which parties a law suit was carried on for a long time in former days, on occasion of the exercise of right on the patronage of Saint Finan of Killenan, in the diocese of Argyle, in virtue of commission and of apostolic transcript addressed to certain delegated judges, and lately obtained by John himself from the Apostolic See, and a question having arisen out of it, was left undecided, and from several allegations and strong reasons which these parties themselves wish to use, and to defend themselves in trial. At length the Father having offered the first-fruits in Christ, to set at rest and terminate the aforesaid question, that had sprung up, without the noise of trial, lest the parties themselves making themselves miserable in the premises, should be wearied with too much labour and expense, and lest hurtful differences and future disagreements should follow between them: Set forth and produced each and every letter, paper, defence, grant, donation, and confirmation of the foresaid church of Saint Finan of Killenane, given, made, and disponed by the predecessors and forefathers of worthy memory of the foresaid John Laumund, to the abbot and convent for the time being, serving God, and that will serve Him for ever, for the praise of God, and the extension of divine worship: and, moreover, he set forth and exhibited the royal confirmations, both apostolic and episcopal, of some popes of the Holy Roman Church, of ordinary bishops, and renowned and illustrious Scottish kings, all to the foresaid John Lamund to consult and inform himself more effectually for ending litigation and strife, he as being a true lover of peace, all which having seen and understood fully, after mature deliberation, the advices of his honourable and wise friends having followed and been taken, the said John Laumund has considered, fully weighed and acknowledged that he himself, and his heirs have no right, nor any title of right, nor any interest whatsoever, in the right of patronage of said church of Saint Finan, nor can aspire to nor aim at it. Wherefore John himself, no wise entrapped, but as is right to believe, piously and healthfully reflecting and revolving in his own mind how wicked it is to harass the servants of God unjustly, by toils and expense or otherwise to deprive them of their just possessions, has of his own pure and free will, yielded up and renounced for ever, entirely, and wholly, this suit and cause, with each and all its pertinents and pendicles, and with every right and semblance of right, which John himself did, or does, or may possess in time coming, in and to the legal exercise of the patronage of the said church of Saint Finan, entirely and altogether. And if right has fallen or may fall in time coming to John himself, or to his heirs and successors, he has given, granted, and disponed from himself to the foresaid abbot and convent. And further, he has sanctioned, confirmed, and ratified all and sundry the documents, letters, evidences, gifts, and confirmations, as aforesaid to the above lords, abbots, and convent in respect of said things given, granted, and disponed by his predecessors and forefathers, in name of himself, and of his heirs, of all which Henry the abbot, the reverend father in Christ, having given the first-fruits, has sought from us the public notaries mentioned hereinafter, that the public instrument and instruments should be made for himself and for the convent. These were made in the chief church of the monastery of Paisley in the year, month, day, indiction and pontificate, as above stated, in presence of the reverend, noble, and wise men:—Robert the prior, Andrew the sub-prior, and several other brethren, monks of the monastery of Paisley, James Hamilton of Torrens, George Walless of Elyrislie, John Knock of that ilk, John Hammylton of Kynglshalche, James Campbel, son and heir apparent of John Cambel, Lord of Loudon; John Sympell, Patrick Lawmund, Duncan Lawmund, brother of said John Lawmund, and Duncan, son of Gilbert, Esquires, witnesses to the foresaids, with many others equally called and required, and myself, John Myrington, a presbyter of the Diocese of Glasgow, a public notary of imperial authority, who was present at the foresaid right, litigation, cause, cession, and renunciation, gift, grant, and transference of right, and at the ratification of these letters and charters, and all others, while they were done and carried on as said above, as aforewritten, along with the aftermentioned notary and the forenamed witnesses, and saw and heard these things so done, took them to note, from which I have completed, written, and published the present public instrument, and have reduced it to this public form, and signed the same with my usual seal and subscription and name, as required in testimony of what is aforewritten.

"And further, whereas I, James Learmonth, vicar of Renfrew, in the Diocese of Glasgow, a public notary of imperial authority, was personally present while all and sundry of the foresaids, as aforewritten, were being transacted, said and done, along with the notary and witnesses underwritten; and, whereas I saw them so finished and heard, and took a note of them, therefore the present instrument faithfully written by the hand of the preceding notary, I have, when called on, finished with my usual seal, subscription and name, in proof and testimony of the truth of all the foresaids." (Reg. Pass., p. 149.)

APPENDIX D.

THE LEGEND OF SAINT MUNN, TRANSLATED FROM THE ABERDEEN BREVIARY.

ST. MUND, ABBOT, KILMOND AND DISSERT.

Prayer.

O God, ineffable Creator of all things, who by Thy grace quickenest those whom Thou willest, we beseech Thee, that St. Mund interceding for us, his intercession may be acceptable for us, through our Lord.

At Matin.

The venerable Father Mund, abbot of monks, received being from Tulcan his father, and Fechelem his mother; who, when by them from the first age of his youth was intrusted with the tending of sheep, filled with the Holy Ghost, for the sake of hearing the divine law went to a certain religious man, leaving the sheep on the desert without a shepherd. Having been reproved by his father for deserting the sheep, he replies: "The whole time thou permittest me to perspire in the divine laws, so long the sheep in care by the wolves will not perish."

Lesson ii.

But, on the following day, the father of the man of God repaired to the desert to see the flock, and coming saw two wolves of the forest the only shepherds attending the flocks. Now the father knowing the sanctity of the boy, entered a strict monastery, and taking the habit of a holy religious order became a monk; but St. Mund repaired to St. Congal, abbot and most religious father.

Lesson iii.

Afterwards, he repaired to St. Sillen, who among all the Irish saints was esteemed the most famous. Under his rule, he passed eighteen years, piously and holyly. Which having passed he came to Iona, in Scotland, where from St. Columba he received the habit of religion. But Thou.

Lesson iv.

But St. Columba having been translated from this world, St. Mund again repaired to Ireland, his native country. When walking on his way he was met by a certain rich man, Evan by name, asking that by the power of God his animals might be healed of their sickness. Now St. Mund, bending over a ford, with his hand blessing the ford, commanded the animals to drink of the ford, from which they desired to receive their health.

Lesson v.

Moreover, before he came to his sisters, he prophetically knew that one young maid of his sisters had gone the way of all flesh; but on the second day after this same occurrence he came to the grave, and, moved with compassion, he on bended knees earnestly besought the Lord, when the grave spontaneously opened and the virgin arose alive, whom he restored to her mother.

Lesson vi.

Shortly after, he brought a dead man to life; a certain soldier from the artifices of his enemies he rescued from death; a certain woman suffering from an issue of blood he delivered from death; a certain leper by the prediction of an angel he cured.

With such favour was he held in the sight of the Lord that twice a week for his consolation a heavenly messenger was sent to him by the Lord: supported by these miracles, at a mature age, on twelfth of the Kalends of November, he rendered his spirit to God, and in the church of Kilmond, which he had previously founded, he is said to have been honourably buried. But Thou, O Lord.

APPENDIX E.

PRIVILEGES CONFERRED ON THE CHURCH AND BURGH OF KILMUN.

THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF KILMUN BY THE CAMPBELLS.

"IN the year 1442, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, the king's lieutenant for Argyle, founded (endowed) at Kilmwne in Cowal, a collegiate church for a provost and seven perpetual chaplains or prebendaries. In the same year he endowed the college with three marks of Achenlochir, six marks of Blarmore and Garronletter, two marks of Craghavis, and two marks of Cafflade and Cloyne in the barony of Kilmwne, one mark of Kilmolew in the barony of Lochaw, two marks of Dalmelocharde, one mark of Achingare, and two marks in Creghane and Ganane." (Reg. Mag. Sig. Lib. iv.)

The charter conveying the above gifts is recorded in Latin in the "*Monasticum Scoticanum*" as follows:—"*In honorem Dei, beatæ Virginis, Mariæ Sancti Mundi, pro salute animæ olim recolendæ memoriæ Jacobi regis, et Joanna reginæ Suæ; nec non pro salute animæ Jacobi moderni regis Scotorum meague propria salute et animæ quondam Marioriæ Conjugis meæ et modernæ consoctis meæ et quondam Cælestini Filij mei primo geniti omnium* *antecessorum et successorum meorum,*" which may be translated thus: "In honour of God, the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Munn, for the salvation of the soul of King James the First, and of Joanna, his queen; although long dead the recollection of them is fresh; but not for the salvation of the soul of the present James II., king of the Scots, and for the special salvation of the soul of my departed wife Marjory (daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany,) and of my present wife (Margaret, daughter of John Stewart of Blackhall), and of the departed Celestine, my first begotten son, and of all my predecessors and successors."

This Sir Duncan, commonly called *Dunachadh an aidh*, or Duncan the fortunate—the first of that family who assumed the title of Argyle, thus endowed the college of Kilmun with lands to the extent of nineteen marks, which was a handsome sum in those days, although from the above returns we see that he made a good bargain with the monks. But he seems to have been too cute to risk his own safety on this overloaded policy, as we find him afterwards donating the halfpenny lands of Blarintibert, in Knapdale, to the monks of Saddell for the safety of his own soul. (Orig. Par. Scot.)

Shortly before this endowment to the Kilmun college, the Campbells got a firm footing there, and they ever afterwards retained it as their place of sepulture. Tradition says they acquired it in this way: "The Black Knight of Lochaw had a son educated in the Lowlands, who died suddenly during a snowy winter; the body could not be removed home, and the knight asked as a favour of the great Lamont of Cowal a place to bury his son, which Lamont granted in the following terms:—

"Mise Mac Laomain mor Chomhail
Toirt uaigh lic, airson a mhic,
Do Ridire dubh, thaobh-Lochodha
Is e na airc."

In Gemmell's "Topography of the Clyde," published in Greenock in 1818, this grant is slightly different:—

"Tha mise
Mac Laomain mor Chomhail uile
Tabhairt Dhuitse
Ridireadh Dubh Locho' adh
Uaigh lic
Thiolaca do mhic
'S thu an airc.

Literal English—

I
Great Lamont of all Cowal
Do give unto thee
Black Knight of Lochaw
A grave of Flags
Wherein to bury thy son
In thy distress.

It is very probable that this concession was made to this same Sir Duncan for burying "Celestine, his first begotten son," already referred to, who would be educated in the college of Kilmun, which was in existence long before this date.

OTHER PRIVILEGES TO KILMUN.

"In the year 1490, King James IV., for the service done by Colin, Earl of Ergile, to his predecessors, Kings James II. and III., and for his own singular favour towards the earl, erected the town of Kilmound, with its bounds, into a free burgh of barony for ever, granting to the inhabitants the full right of buying and selling within the burgh, wine, wax, cloth, both woollen and linen, broad and narrow, and whatsoever other goods and articles of merchandise should arrive there, and also of having within the burgh, bakers, brewers, butchers, fleshmongers, fishmongers, and workmen of all crafts, belonging to the liberty of a burgh of barony. He further granted to the inhabitants that they should be burgesses of the burgh of Kilmound, and have the power of electing bailies and other officers, of erecting a cross, and of holding a weekly market every Monday, and two yearly fairs, one on Saint Munn's day, 21st October, and the other on the day of the Invention of the Holy Cross, called Beltane, 3rd May, and during the octaves of the same, with the tolls and other liberties belonging to fairs of that kind." (Orig. Par. Scot., Kilmun.)

APPENDIX F.

ANALYSIS OF THE GLENMASAN MS.

TRAGEDY OF DEIRDRI AND THE SONS OF USNOTH, WITH THE COMMOTIONS THAT FOLLOWED.

(Collated by Ewan M'Lachlan, of Old Aberdeen, from the Glenmasan and Turner MSS.)

THIS note is given as a specimen of the monkish Romances ascribed to Fingalian heroes.

The analyst collates the Glenmasan and Turner MSS. to prove the authenticity of "Ossian's Poems," but as far as Scotland is concerned, with the exception of the short valedictory poem ascribed to Deirdri, and a few general remarks, the story from beginning to end is an Irish romance which was known in Ireland long before the era of the Glenmasan MS. The heroine's Irish birth, education, confinement in the fortress of Selma in Ulster, her escape with the sons of Usnoth to Scotland, their being found at Lochetive, and their return to Ireland are almost all taken from Turner's modern version. It is only in reference to the fugitives' return to Ireland, and in the commotions that followed this tragedy, that the text of the Glenmasan MS. can be properly understood. The references to the Glenmasan MS. are given in *columns,* those of Turner's MS. in *pages.* M'Lachlan prefaces the analysis by a brief sketch of the septennial wars between Connaught and Ulster. He invariably refers to the heroine's name as Darthula, but, as I have shown above, she was first known to Macpherson by this name. Deirdri was her Irish name, which signified a child of destiny.

Before quoting the analysis I shall preface it with the following description, by Professor O'Sullivan, of the "Tale of the Tain," which will help to explain the nature of these Romances.

"THE TAIN BO CUALGNE—A HEROIC POEM."

"The central tale of the heroic poems of Ireland is the *Tain Bo Cualgne,* or Cattle Spoil of Cualgne or Cooly, in the county of Louth, which relates to the war waged by Medh, queen of Connaught, the Queen Mab of the fairy mythology, and her husband Ailill, with Conchobar MacNessa, king of Ulster, for the mystic brown bull of Cualgne, in which the hero Cuchullaind defends Ulster single-handed, while the king and his champions are in a peculiar state of debility, inflicted upon them for a savage act of the former. . . . In these tales, as a whole, we have the most complete cycles in any literature. We have a narrative of the life of the great hero (Cuchullaind) from his conception to his death, of Medh the chief heroine, and of all the chief personages on both sides, male and female. . . . . Conchobar MacNessa, Fergus MacRoigh, Ailill, husband of queen Medh; Conall Cernach, and Loighaire or Leghaire Buadach, companions of Cuchullaind, the sons of Uisnech, and Ferdiad, Deirdriu, Emer, and the other women that took part in the action.

"The author of the 'Tain Bo Cualgne' is not known. It has been ascribed to Senchan Torpeist, a poet who flourished about the year 600. Another tradition assigns the work to Saint Ciaran of Clonmacnoise. The language of the portion of the 'Tain' in the book of the 'Dun Cow' is not older at most than the beginning of the tenth century. The text of the Book of

Leinster, which contains the whole story is more modern." (Prof. O'Sullivan, on Celtic Literature in the Enc. Brit., Edin., 1876.)

With this explanation I now come to M'Lachlan's analysis of

"DARTHULA; OR, THE FATE OF THE SONS OF USNOTH."

"Conchubar, king of Ulster (whose lineage is traced up to Mileadh the Spaniard), betakes himself one day to the house of Felim MacDoill, his genealogist, who had furnished a splendid entertainment for himself and the nobles of his province. In the meantime Felim's wife is delivered of a daughter. Cattefadh, the king's principal Druid, calls the infant Deirdri, importing that she was destined to bring innumerable calamities on the nation. To elude the fulfilment of this dismal prophecy, the court votes for the child's immediate destruction, but Conchubar would not consent to the proposal. Accordingly, he ordered the young Darthula to be preserved and educated in a solitary fortress, to which none should have access excepting a tutor, a governess, and a waiting woman of the king's, named Lebharcam. The orders were complied with, and Darthula passed her infancy and childhood in this secluded mansion. (Pp. 432-433.)

A particular incident leads Darthula to thoughts of marriage. Lebharcam finds means of introducing into her apartments a young courtier, Nathos by name, celebrated over Ireland and Scotland for the stateliness of his person and his qualifications as a soldier. Darthula immediately falls in love with Nathos, and requests him to devise some stratagem for effecting her deliverance from a tedious and disagreeable confinement. Nathos conspires with his brothers Ailthos and Ardan. They muster a body of 150 men, force the tower, and set Darthula at liberty. They embark for Scotland, and, for Darthula's sake, are graciously received by the monarch of the country. But the partiality of the king gaining too much strength, Nathos, after many conflicts with the Scots, is obliged to fly with his spouse and brothers, and seek refuge in a desert island. (P. 433).

Some time after, Conchubar, who had been previously informed of the elopement and adventures of the children of Usnoth, in a general meeting of his court, expatiates at considerable length on the insult he has sustained, and deliberates upon a plan of bringing the fugitives to punishment, and taking Darthula to wife, agreeably to his original intention. (P. 434). He solicits Conall Cearnach and Cuchullin to aid him in the accomplishment of his design, but meets with an indignant refusal. (Pp. 435-436).

He then applies to Fergus MacRoigh. This champion, with his three sons, undertakes the expedition. They embark for Scotland, and arrive at Locheite, in Argyleshire, near the residence of the children of Usnoth. (P. 437). Fergus and his sons entering a thick-wooded glen, utter three loud cries, which Nathos recognising, he and his brothers, though much opposed by Darthula, discover themselves to Fergus. (Her peculiar dream and its interpretation, pp. 437-8—and Glenmasan MS., cols. 3-4.)

The sons of Usnoth introduce Fergus to Darthula. After mutual salutation, Fergus, in the hearing of Darthula, announces his errand. Darthula disapproves of it in strong terms, and subjoins her reasons; but Fergus assuring them that Conchubar had no inimical intentions, they propose to comply with the message and to return with Fergus to Ireland. (P. 438, col. 4).

Accordingly, the sons of Usnoth and Darthula embarked for Ulster. (Darthula's beautiful valediction to Scotland—p. 439.) After landing, they make for the house of Borrach Mac Cainte, as Conchubar had originally directed Fergus. Borrach offers to entertain them that day. Fergus accepts the invitation, but insists on sending the children of Usnoth and Darthula that same evening to the palace of Conchubar. (P. 440, cols. 5 and 6).

They leave the house of Borrach and proceed, along with the sons of Fergus, to Eamunn. When they had reached Sliabh Fuaid, Darthula, oppressed with the fatigue, laid herself down to take a repose. (Her horrible dream, p. 441.) Advancing on their journey, they are terrified at an ominous appearance. Darthula counsels them to go to Dundalgan, and avail themselves of Cuchullin's protection, but in vain. (P. 442). Upon their arrival at Eamunn, Conchubar orders them to be conducted to the house of Craobh Ruadh, which was at some distance from the royal palace.

Darthula perceives that her apprehensions were too well grounded, and strongly regrets that her salutary counsel was not complied with. They are escorted to the house of Craobh Ruadh, where a banquet is set before them. (P. 443, cols. 5-8).

Conchubar, intent upon his design, sends Lebharcam to enquire whether Darthula's beauty had suffered any diminution. (P. 444). Lebharcam brings back an unfavourable report, which not satisfying Conchubar, he despatches Kĕnndoran on the same errand, to procure exact information. Kĕnndoran goes to the house of Craobh Ruadh, but finds the doors and windows shut close, one excepted, through which he peeps. Nathos, admonished by Darthula, observes him, and, enraged at his presumption, strikes out his eye with a tennis ball. Kĕnndoran, maddened and affronted, returns to Conchubar, assuring him that Nathos had all the qualifications of a rival, and that Darthula's beauty was incomparable. (P. 446).

Conchubar, impatient of further restraint, sets out in the night, with an armed force, to destroy the house of Craobh Ruadh. The parties surround it and attempt to set it on fire. Buinne and Iolunn, the sons of Fergus, arm in defence of Darthula; and vigorously repelling the aggressors, extinguish the flames. (P. 447). Conchubar recognising Buinne, prevails upon him to desert the sons of Usnoth. (P. 448). Iolunn, apprised of Buinne's treachery, resolves to fight for the sons of Usnoth to the last, and makes a brave attack on Conchubar's troops. He engages Fiachaidh, the king's own son. (P. 449, cols. 13-16).

Connal Cearnach, excited by a prodigy, hastens towards the house of Craobh Ruadh. The moment he arrived he rushes behind Iolunn, the sun of Fergus, whom he saw pressing hard upon young Fiachaidh. Iolunn, transfixed by Connal, was just able to tell his name, and immediately expired. Connal, upon recognising Iolunn, is overwhelmed with grief at the accident. Rage immediately succeeding, he cuts off the head of Fiachaidh, and retires from the field. (P. 450, col. 16. In Glenmasan MS. the remainder of the tale is wanting).

The Ultonians now surround the mansion and endeavour again to fire it. Ardan extinguishes the flames, and repulses the enemy with considerable slaughter. Althos and Nathos come severally to his relief; they cut off great numbers, and oblige the assailants three times to retreat. At length the brothers, encircling Darthula with their shields, defend her with astonishing valour, and strew the plain with the carcases of their foes. (P. 451).

Conchubar, apprehensive for the safety of his men, persuades Cattefadh the Druid to employ the effects of magic against the children of Usnoth. He complies, and covers the plain with an enchanted sea, which, inundating them on every side, turned the fortune of the battle. The Ultonians seemed on firm ground, and the sons of Usnoth remained struggling in the vortices of the tide and bearing Darthula on their shoulders, until Maine, a son of the king of Lochlin, cuts off their three heads with the sword of Mananan the son of Lir. (P. 452). Darthula laments over the body of Nathos. (P. 453-4). He is interred. (P. 455).

Enraged at the unprincipled and treacherous Conchubar, Fergus Mac Roigh, to avenge the death of his son Iolunn, and the insult he had sustained in the fate of the children of Usnoth, hastens the next morning to Eamunn, and, in connection with Cormac Comhluingeas and Dubhthach Daolulach, ravages Eamunn and puts Conchubar's seraglio to the sword. He next assembles a force of 3000 choice troops, marches to Connaught at their head, joins Oilliol, the king of that province, and declares war on Conchubar's family. This commenced the tedious and destructive Tain-bho-Chuailgne, so celebrated in the annals and traditionary poems of Ireland. (P. 456).

The unfortunate Darthula is conveyed to the palace of Conchubar, utterly inconsolable for the fate of Nathos. She continues a year at the Ultonian Court, but no object or amusement could administer the smallest comfort. Conchubar, therefore, thinking that a change of the scene might produce a salutary effect, sends for Eoghan MacDuthrachd, prince of Fearnmuighe, who, according to some authors, had slain Nathos in Eamunn. Designing to commit Darthula to this man's protection, he proposes a carriage and mounts it, setting himself on the one side of Darthula, and placing Eoghan on the other. The carriage was yoked, and proceeded on the journey to Fearnmuighe. Darthula, utterly detesting her two companions, looked on them alternately with a countenance expressive of the utmost disdain. This drew a sentiment from Conchubar, which so shocked her feelings that she sprang out of the carriage and casually meeting with a pillar of stone, her brains flew out, so that she instantly breathed her last. This disaster concludes the story."

THE COMMOTIONS THAT FOLLOWED THE TRAGEDY OF DEIRDRI.

M'Lachlan gives a retrospective account of the Glenmasan MS. in introducing the commotions that followed the tragedy of

Deirdri, saying: "The first, second, and fourth leaves of the Glenmasan MS. contain the story of Darthula, beginning with the feast of Conchubar, and ending with the slaughter of Iolunn Fionn by Conall Cearnach. . . . The Glenmasan MS., now to be perused, differs often in its phraseology from the edition already referred to (Turner's), and in general exhibits the preferable reading. The remainder of the book contains part of the history of the commotions that agitated Ireland after the slaughter of the sons of Usnoth. We subjoin the analysis taken by the misplaced leaves of the volume in their natural order:—

Fergus MacRoigh, in revenge for the death of his son, Iolunn Fionn, one of the brave defenders of Darthula, and in consequence of the other provocations he sustained from Conchubar, strikes off the yoke of the tyrant, and, in conjunction with Cormac Conlinngeas and Dubhtach Daol-Ulach (Blue-beard), makes a dreadful havoc of the king's family and domestics. He destroys his whole seraglio, and ravages Eamunn, which lay contiguous to the royal residence, with fire and sword. This is related by the authors of Darthula." With this explanation the annalist resumes the story.

The Glenmasan MS. informs us that a temporary peace was agreed upon between Fergus MacRoigh and Conchubar, but on terms rather disadvantageous to the former, who accordingly watched his first opportunity of claiming an adequate redress. A year had elapsed after the suspension of hostilities, when Conchubar, on a particular occasion, invited the nobility of his province to an entertainment. As this party was feasting in the house of Craobh Ruadh, three wandering champions intruded into the hall and seized upon all the precious furniture within their reach, the guests of Conchubar being disqualified by intoxication from preventing the pillage. (Col. 18.)

The adventurers departing unmolested and unpursued, accidentally met with Briene and Fergus, who learned the situation of the Ultonian Court at that instant, and embraced the favourable moment for reiterating their vengeance. They march towards the palace, at the head of an armed battalion, and falling on the king's domestics as they occurred, slaughtered them without discriminating age or sex. Among the sufferers were Daire MacFelim and Fiachaidh, a son of Conchubar. In this critical posture of affairs the bards and heralds of Ulster interpose, and make ineffectual attempts to calm Fergus ; but he still advances, and, without attacking the palace, plunders and depopulates the territory of Eamunn. Flushed with these successes he resolves, by Briene's advice, to make conquests in the neighbouring province. (Col. 20.) But here there is a gap in the MS.

In cols. 9-12, it is related that Fergus mustered a considerable force, marched at their head to Cruachan in Connaught, and offered his services to Oillioll and Meave, the king and queen of that province, and Conchubar's implacable enemies. He meets with a welcome reception ; and, after a feast of three days, he is appointed general of Oillioll's standing army. Conchubar, apprised of the revolt, and not to be behind in retaliation, cuts off the sons of Fergus and Dubhtach in one day, being nineteen in number, of whom seven belonged to Dubhtach, and twelve to Fergus. The lamentations of the parents are contained in col. 10, but it is so effaced with rain drops that out of the legible part no sense can be collected. Dubhthach, impatient for revenge, would not wait for the consent of Oilioll, Meave, and Fergus, but entering Ulster with all possible secrecy, sets fire to the houses, mills, and corn kilns of the inhabitants, destroys their cattle, as far as he could penetrate into the province, and, satiate with vengeance, returns to Cruachan. (Cols. 10 and 11.)

Fergus again appears on the stage. He marches into the enemy's territory, and at the head of a powerful infantry, gives battle to Eoghan MacDuthrachd, prince of Fearnmuighe, razes his palace to the ground, and carries off an immense booty to Cruachan, the residence of Meave and Oilioll. Those exploits procured him universal esteem. (Cols. 11 and 12). Meave in particular admires him and receives him into the closest personal intimacy. They carry on an amorous correspondence for a complete year undiscovered by Oilioll, who at length, surprising them by accident in a wood, finds means of taking the sword of Fergus out of its sheath and substituting in place of it a piece of timber, to stigmatise his conduct, with all possible infamy. Here again, unfortunately, the chain of the narrative is broken, we therefore return to col. 21st, from which part, excepting where the parchment is damaged, the story meets with no interruption to the end of the MS.

Oilioll and Meave gave a splendid banquet. Arrangements of their troops and officers in the halls of state. (Col. 21). In the course of the entertainment, Briene stimulates Fergus to new adventures. (Col. 22). He solicits Meave's permission to risk an enterprise on his own behalf. Meave consents. Briene, accompanied by a strong detachment, marches to the district of the Gamhanraidh, where Oilioll Fionn, the son of Donald Dualbuidhe, king of the western part of Munster, had his residence in Dun-atha-fein, near the lake of Arney. Briene and his attendants are joyfully received by Oilioll Fionn and his subjects, who show him every token of friendship and respect. (Col. 23). Oilioll Fionn's entertainment and the order of his party at table. (Col. 24). Briene pronounced a piece of poetry, couched in enigmatical language. He subjoins an explanation, containing a list of the favours he intended to request of Oilioll. These are granted without reserve. (Col. 25).

Some time after, Briene, in private conversation with Oilioll, is made acquainted with the queen's place of residence, and with the miraculous properties of Maol-Flidhais, a milk cow, brought up on the king's demesnes. Next morning he departs from Atha-fein and sets out for Dun-morgan, where Flidhas, the queen, resided. He is welcomely received by the inhabitants of that town, and in particular by the queen's household. The verses he repeated on the occasion, as well as the contents of the next four columns, are hardly legible. They appear to consist of Briene's encomiums on Fergus Mac Roigh and an enumeration of his exploits, a detail that produces on the queen's mind effects of the most ruinous consequences to the interests of her husband's kingdom. She ardently wishes Fergus present, and promises to furnish him with troops and other necessaries for the Ultonian war. Briene returns to Cruachan with the troops, cattle, and other riches he had received from Oilioll Fionn and Flidhas. (Col. 31). On his arrival at Cruachan he launches into a high panegyric on the magnificences of Oilioll Fionn's court, which excites the indignation of Meave, for she could brook no competition with her own court or family. This subject extends through four columns.

Next follows an account of a splendid entertainment given by Oilioll and Meave in the house of Cruachan. In process of time, as the drink began to take effect, the party evinced a disposition to quarrel. Briene reproaching Fergus for indolence, receives a personal chastisement from Dubhthach, which threw the whole palace into confusion, and would have terminated in bloodshed had it not been for the timely interposition of Oilioll and Meave. (Col. 35).

As soon as it was morning, Fergus and Briene, having obtained permission from Oilioll and Meave, set out with an armed body for the court of the Gamhanraidh to solicit the aid of Oilioll Fionn for the prosecution of the Ultonian war. The first day of their march they arrived at the castle of Atha-dearg, the residence of Minadhmadhach, where they were kindly received. (Cols. 36 and 37).

Next day Dubhthach follows in the same direction, and overtakes Fergus at Atha-dearg. The inhabitants detest him, and would pay his groom no attention. (Col. 38). Dubhthach, taking this as a personal insult, kills Modho Minadhmadhach. Fergus, the day after, makes a deep lamentation, and is full of apprehensions with respect to the probable consequences of the accident. Meave resolves to avenge it on Dubhthach, but she is restrained by Oilioll. (Col. 39).

Fergus proceeds on his march and arrives at the mansion of Airne, where he and his party are received with a hospitable welcome. (Cols. 39-40). They sit down to a sumptuous entertainment, and prolong the festivity till midnight. Dubhthach getting warm over his cups, occasioned a quarrel, which well-nigh had ended in a battle. Fergus, affronted at the author and cause of the misunderstanding, departs with his retinue from Airne, and advances on his journey till he arrives at Dun-atha-fein; from which place Briene is despatched to the residence of Oilioll Fionn and Flidhas in Iorrus-domhnan, to announce the approach and business of Fergus. Briene is joyfully received at the court of Oilioll, and treated with a superb banquet. Briene, flushed with wine, frankly discloses to Oilioll Fionn the design of this visit from Connaught, namely, the partiality of Fergus for Flidhas, the queen of the Gamhanraidh, and his desire of appropriating to himself her person and possessions. Oilioll for that time hushes the subject. (Cols. 41-42).

Fergus now approaches. His procession splendidly described. (Cols. 42-43.) The Gamhanraidh on his arrival evince every demonstration of joy. They usher in the night with a grand entertainment. The fumes of the liquor beginning to operate, Oilioll questions Fergus privately on the subject of his embassy to Dun-atha-fein; Fergus clearly avows his intentions. Upon this Oilioll challenges him to a single combat against the ensuing dawn, specifying a particular place, and enjoining all possible secrecy. In the meantime Oilioll's forces assemble in great numbers, at which Briene expressing his astonishment, Oilioll pretends that his subjects were assembling to celebrate the ancient festival of the sun's retrogression to the southern hemisphere (whence the term "*Samhain*" for "Hallow evening" literally the "sun's recess"). (Cols. 44-47). Oilioll, considering himself sufficiently prepared for coping with Fergus on any terms, assumes a more authoritative tone, and questions him a second time on the business which brought him to his dominions. Fergus refers him to his former answer, and starting out of his seat, leaves him abruptly, reminding him of to-morrow's appointment. (Col. 48).

Fergus rises in the morning and equips his chariot. He sets out, accompanied by his groom. He finds Oilioll in the field before him. The attack commences, and the two chiefs continue fighting till sunrise, using no weapon but the spear. The officers of Fergus, suspecting some mischief, hasten to the ground where their master was combating with Oilioll Fionn. They interpose, but Oilioll encounters them singly, and repulses them. By this time the news of the king's danger spreading through the city, the Gamhanraidh rush out in crowds to rescue their sovereign. The followers of Fergus imitate the example; and at length the two armies, formed into battalions, encounter in a regular engagement. (Col. 49). Sublime description of the battle. (Col. 50). The bravery of Oilioll and Fergus, who fight with missile weapons. (Col. 51). Fergus now gives vent to his rage, and feels for his sword; he draws out the piece of wood which Oilioll of Cruachan had put into his sheath during the amorous intrigue with Meave in the wood. Affronted beyond expression, he recedes, fighting as before with such missile weapons as occurred. (Col. 52). He is at last overcome, seized, and bound with a chain. (Col. 53).

Briene hastens to Cruachan and acquaints Meave and Oilioll with the capture of Fergus, and the destruction of the combined army. (Col. 54). The effects of this intelligence. The king and queen of Connaught assemble the princes of Ireland, who were then at Cruachan, to deliberate on proper measures. They collect a strong body and march that day to Airne, where they spend one night. The Arnians slaughter 150 of Meave's followers by surprise. The people of Connaught, in revenge, attack the Arnians with effect, and put great numbers to the sword. Airne himself is slain in battle, whence the lake of Arney is named.

They proceed on their march to Nochda Ingine Deirg, where they perform a particular exploit. Lughaidh kills Nochda in a contest proposed by himself, and is applauded by Meave for the deed. Leaving the hill of Nochda, they advanced towards Dun-atha-fein. They are opposed by Torna-Teann, one of Oilioll Fionn's principal champions, who overcomes and beheads six of the Irish heroes. Battles fought during their march, with various successes, till they encamp at Turlach-na-Dala.

Goll-Oilioll, a scout, sets off to Oilioll Fionn with intelligence of the Connaughtian invasion; Fergus being still bound in the custody of Oilioll Fionn, and exposed to daily insults ever since his confinement. Goll enumerates the forces of Connaught. Scuffle between the two armies at the place of encampment. Fear-mian-mac-dara-deirg transfixes Cainnire, the daughter of Meave, with a javelin. She is buried near a brook, which still bears her name.

Oilioll Fionn's army of the Gamhanraidh gains considerable advantages. Meave, suspecting herself vastly his inferior in military strength, tries to influence his chiefs by presents, and succeeds. Oilioll Fionn at the same time sends to the districts and villages of his province. A catalogue of these is given in prose and verse.

The Irish encamp at Dun-Flidhais and agree to carry on the war by successive trials of prowess. These combats lasted for seven days. The contest of Letriach and Muinchean (Oilioll Fionn's herdsman) is among the most noted. Description of it. (Cols. 63 and 69). Letriach binds Muinchean, insults him, and takes him on his back towards the tent of Meave. Muinchean, with an active spring, breaks loose, grapples with Letriach, lifts him on his shoulder, brings him to the lake that still bears his name, and there drowns him.

At the expiration of the week, which was consumed in partial exhibitions of bravery, Oilioll thinks it high time to bring the campaign to a conclusion. He goes out to survey the Irish forces from the top of a tower. Fergus, who is still in confinement, takes the opportunity of completely securing the attachment of Flidhas, who assured him that his only chance of escaping from the hands of Oilioll would be by taking advantage of his vanity. On that day the Court were to indulge in festive mirth. They commenced, and sat down to the banquet. When Oilioll had drunk rather freely, Fergus began to assure him that if let out of his bonds he should prove a sufficient match for Oilioll, and with little difficulty raze his capital to the ground. The pride of Oilioll feels hurt at this assertion, but his judgment was not commensurate with his valour, for he that instant released Fergus and his companions, with a view to put their utmost prowess to the trial. The joyful captives, the moment their chains were thrown off, leave the hall, haste out to the field, and rejoin their long expecting countrymen.

Fergus, at the head of the Irish army, proposes to attack the citadel of Oilioll Fionn. Next morning they storm it at all points, but meet with a vigorous resistance from Oilioll Fionn's domestics. The siege continues for seven days, on the last of which Oilioll assembles a council of his chiefs, complains that his forces have deserted him by the influence of bribery, that he is destined to fall by Oilioll of Cruachan, Meave, and Fergus through the treacherous machinations of Flidhas, his own spouse. He sends Dubdogair to solicit the immediate aid of the neighbouring prince. His faithful band, though deserted and circumvented, bravely resolve to die in their master's defence. Their dejection and sorrow during night. The subsequent morning they renew their resolutions, and propose, with Oilioll at their head, to make a desperate sally from the town. Oilioll Fionn's brave address. They form a circle about the king's person.

In the meantime Oilioll and Meave of Cruachan convene their generals. It was determined unanimously that a decisive blow should be struck as soon as possible. They accordingly propose to accelerate the siege, sack the town, extirpate the royal family, and carry off Flidhas, with all her effects. Both armies engage on the plain of Morgan. After an obstinate and bloody conflict, Oilioll Fionn's small but valiant troops are cut to pieces, almost to a man. Oilioll Fionn himself attempts to escape by means of a vessel that waited him in Traigh Trasguir. But the vessel was gone, and Oilioll's flight is intercepted by Fergus. Oilioll, notwithstanding, resolves to give Fergus a last essay of his valour. The two chiefs combat with unexampled fury. The brave, but much-injured Oilioll was at last killed by his antagonist, after seeing his twenty-four sons and seven hundred of his retainers fallen in defence of his kingdom. The combined army remains complete masters of the field. Fergus brings the head of Oilioll Fionn and presents it to Flidhas in presence of Oilioll. The horror and remorse of Flidhas on seeing the head of her gallant husband. It is dressed by her command, and sent away to be replaced on the body. His interment is conducted with due solemnity.

Oilioll Fionn's capital being levelled with the ground, and his patriotic band being totally defeated, the victorious Irish divide themselves into three parties. Of these, a division continued to guard the camp; another, under Fergus, marches to Dunhengan in quest of the wonderful Maol-Flidhas; and the third, Lughaidh Mac Conraidh, receives orders to collect and carry off the *Tain Bho*, or king's cattle, at the time feeding in Gleannmughaidh. Lamentation of Domhnall Dualbhuidhe, and fictitious story of the Maol Flidhas, that seemed endued with human sensibility. All the cattle are surrounded and driven towards the Glen of Maol-tulach, where Meave and Oilioll More were encamped. Lughaidh Mac Conraidh depopulates the south of Iorrus-Domhnan as far as Glen-mughaidh. He is pursued by Muirdheach Meann, a son of Oilioll Fionn, and a strong battalion of the Gamhanraidh which had rendezvoused at Cruachan Oighle. These recover a considerable portion of the spoil, and put many of the ravagers to the sword. Muirdheach follows them to the Irish camp, continually harassing the rear, until at last he transfixes Legan Draoi, a favourite musician of Meave, as he was performing a piece at the royal tent. Meave laments his death, and gives him an honourable interment.

Domhall Dualbhuidhe musters another formidable army of the Gamhanraidh to avenge the death of his son Oilioll Fionn. They march in pursuit of the Irish army, soon overtake them with the remainder of the cattle spoil, set fifty bloodhounds on them, and oblige them to retreat. They close with Fergus and dislodge him from his chariot. Upon this the Irish rally and charge the Gamhanraidh with great fury. During the engagement the horses and groom of Fergus are torn in pieces by Donald's bloodhounds. Fergus with his bravest troops repulse the Gamhanraidh, and proceed on their journey with the spoil; but Donald again returns to the charge, and a second engagement ensues. Fergus, eager to terminate the battle, challenges Donald aloud to the combat. Their furious but ineffectual encounter. The confederates now give way, and are pursued with full speed by the Gamhanraidh to Dunhengan, in which place so bloody a battle was fought, and so many of the Irish fell, that the hillock was ever after called "*Cruach nan ceann.*" The survivors retreat in order, still carrying along with them the Maol-Flidhas. They post themselves in the north of Connlach for the ensuing night, and fasten the miraculous cow, or Maol-Flidhas, to a column of stone before Meave's tent, their principal commanders in the meantime guarding the different passes in case of a surprise. They attempted to elude the Gamhanraidh under cover of darkness, and had made some progress with the booty, when the Gamhanraidh pursued them with unabated vigour, still increasing in reinforcements, and still slaughtering the fugitives. A dreadful battle is fought between them at the ford of Leacon. Fergus, stimulating the men of Ulster and Connaught by precept and example, again meets Donald Dualbhuidhe at Ath-na-feinne. They combat with extraordinary valour, and Donald falls. But Fergus was so pressed by the enemy that he could not find leisure to strip his antagonist. The battle of Ath-na-feinne lasts till night. After other severe conflicts and much effusion of blood, Muirdheach Meann, the young prince of the Gamhanraidh, recovers Flidhais the queen, the Maol, and the greater part of their live property. The Irish set off for Cruachan, disappointed in their object and greatly reduced in their numbers. The Gamhanraidh return with their queen and cattle to the place where still lay the corpse of Donald Dualbhuidhe. Donald is entombed with suitable honours, and Muirdheach Meann succeeds to the throne of Oilioll his father."

APPENDIX G.

LOCH AIRC—ECHAIG.

FROM the similarity of the names of Locheck and the river Echaig, there are some who may infer that the stream derives its name from the lake from which it flows. This is a mistake. Another stream bearing the same name issues from Glenlean and Glenkin, meanders over this vale, and also discharges itself into the Holy Loch. The present name of the vale is Strathechaig, but in old documents it is called Strathachie and Stratheqhy.

The old natives pronounce this lake Loch-airc—it is said to have derived its name from a great calamity *(airc)* that happened there of old through the freaks of Caileach Bheir, a famous mountain nymph.

The original site of the lake is said to have been once a fertile field, and this fatal incident occurred in harvest time, when Bera and her assistant, the "*Balach-luirgneach-las-shuileach,*" were preparing dinner for the reapers. She sent the Balach for water to a sacred well, but he forgot to secure a charmed lock—the waters gushed forth, flooding the vale, and overwhelming the reapers, whose numbers were—

Tri sea,
Tri seachd,
Tri fir dheug is a h'ochd;
Tri fichead is cuig deug,
Sud na bha air a ghart.

The assistant of Caileach Bheir is said to have been "*Corra-bhalach-chreige-baoith,*" whose residence was in the vicinity of the lake, and was a terror to the natives. On one occasion he descended from the caves of Creig-bhaoith, and demanded of the tenant of Acha-bo-haird a withy full of corn sheaves, and with his glamour he was likely to glean the whole field, when the tenant invoked the Deity thus—

Di mairt a chur mi,
Di mairt a chliath mi,
Di mairt a chuir mi mo chrann gu h'ar;
Fhir a dh'orduich na tri mairt,
Na leig mo chuid san aona ghad.

At this the withy snapped, and the wizard vanished in a puff of smoke.

Dr. Stewart, in his Statistics of the parish of Strachur, in 1792, says: "Caileach Vear makes a conspicuous figure in the marvellous tales of the country people over the great part of the Western Highlands. Her residence was said to be in the highest mountains; and she could step with ease and in a moment from one district to another; when offended, that she caused a flood to come from the mountains, which destroyed the corn and laid the low ground under water; that one of these floods was the origin of Lochowe in Lorn, and Locheck in this parish . . . . that the people paid her a superstitious veneration, and were under dreadful apprehension of her anger."

And Dr. M'Intyre, in his Statistics of Glenorchy, in 1793, says of her:—

"On the summit of Bencruachan was the fatal spring, from which, according to the traditions of our fathers, issued forth the beautiful and extensive lake of Aw.

Bera, the aged, dwelt in the cave of the rock. She was the daughter of Griannan, the sage. Long was the line of her fathers, and she was the last of her race. Large and fertile were her possessions; hers was the beautiful vale below, and hers the cattle that roamed on the hills around.

To Bera was committed the charge of that awful spring, which, by the appointment of Fate, was to prove fatal to the inheritance of her fathers and to her father's race.

Before the sun was to withdraw his beams she was to cover the spring with a stone, on which sacred and mysterious characters were impressed. One night this was forgot by the unhappy Bera; overcome with the heat and chase of the day she was seized with sleep before the usual time of rest. The confined waters of the mountains burst forth into the plain below, and covered the large expanse now known by the lake of Aw. The third morning Bera awoke from her sleep she went to remove the stone from the spring; but behold the stone was not there! She looked to the inheritance of her tribe; she shrieked, the mountain shook to its base! Her spirit retired to the ghosts of her fathers, in their light and airy halls."

APPENDIX H.

INVASIONS OF ARGYLESHIRE IN 1643-47 AND 1685-86.

THE FIRST BY ALASTAR MACCOLLA IN 1643-47.

ALEXANDER MACDONALD, commonly called Alastar MacColla, was born in the Island of Colonsay. His father's name was Coll Macdonald, otherwise called *Colla Citeach*, from his being left-handed. When Alastar grew up, he was famous for his personal strength, and for his dexterity with the broad sword, which he could wield with either hand. At an early period he went to Ireland, where he lived under the protection of his kinsman, the Earl of Antrim.

At the close of the year 1643, in terms of a secret treaty entered into by the Royalists of England and Scotland, a large army was raised by the latter country for the purpose of aiding their cause. As the army was immediately to enter England, the king deemed it expedient to attempt a diversion by causing a counter invasion and counter insurrection in Scotland. He, therefore, granted a commission to the Marquis of Montrose to proceed into the country and place himself at the head of the loyal Highland clans, while the Marquis of Antrim should disembark two thousand Irish on the western coast.

When Antrim had raised his retainers for this purpose, three candidates, among whom was Alastar MacColla, claimed the honour of commanding them. But before the day when the matter was to be settled, one of the candidates retired; the other, having friends and influence, urged his claim. When the time at last arrived, Alastar started up in the assembly, and, drawing his sword, declared that "No claim could be equal to his, as he was sure his sword was wielded by the best hand in Ireland." "Which is the next best?" inquired his opponent, tauntingly. He threw his weapon into his left hand, and, stretching out his arm, exclaimed: "There it is." Alastar was then chosen without opposition, and sent at the head of fifteen hundred men to invade the west coast of Scotland.

In the month of July, 1644, he arrived with his forces in the Sound of Mull. The Campbells, who inhabited the western coast, were odious to the surrounding clans, not only on account of their having, in compliance with their chief, taken a decided part in the cause of the Parliament and Church, but also on account of the aggressions which they had made during the preceding century on the lands of their neighbours. Alastar for his own part cherished against them the most deadly hatred, and was resolved in executing his mission to gratify this private feeling to its utmost extent. In his progress through the district he burnt and laid waste all that came in his way, inspiring so much terror among the common people, that the name of "*Alastar MacCholla, fear tholla nan tighean*" is to this day used by them to hush unruly children.

In the latter end of August of this year he established a communication in Perthshire with Montrose. After much skirmishing with the Parliamentary army until several of the Highland clans were brought together, Montrose then resolved to invade Argyleshire, having got a guide from Glencoe, who said he knew the district well, and if good water, tight houses, and fat cows would please, there were plenty to be had. Montrose accepted the proffered services, and, stimulated by revenge, both personal and hereditary, marched to attack Argyle in his strongholds. It was now about the middle of December, and while

Argyle was residing at Inveraray in fancied security, he received intelligence that his adversary had entered the country with an army of savage Irishmen and ruthless Highlanders, and that they were plundering and laying waste the country as they went with merciless severity. There was no time for defence, scarcely for flight. Argyle threw himself into a fishing boat and escaped by sea, leaving his unfortunate clansmen to the tender mercies of the enemy. Dividing his army into three bodies, Montrose gave the command of one to the captain of Clanranald, of another to Alastar, and the third he commanded himself. In order to make the work of devastation more complete, Montrose traversed the whole of the devoted district for the space of six weeks, killing the able-bodied men, driving off the flocks and herds, and laying the houses in ashes. On leaving the district he withdrew towards Lochaber for the purpose of organising a general gathering of the clans.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary army in three bodies moved northwards to intercept Montrose. General Baillie marched with a considerable army through Angus and Perth; another strong body was stationed at Inverness under Lord Seaforth; while Argyle had collected his scattered clans, to which he added some battalions from the Lowlands, amounting in all to three thousand men, under the command of his kinsman, Sir Duncan Campbell of Achnambreck, who was recalled from Ireland for this purpose.

Montrose's intention was to attack each body in detail before they could form a junction, and for that end marched as far as Fort Augustus with the purpose of attacking Seaforth. While resting in his encampment there he learned that Argyle's army was in pursuit of him at Inverlochy. He immediately retraced his steps, as the poet Iain Lom says:

> "An cuala sibhse 'n tiondadh duineil,
> Thug an camp bha'n Cille-chuimein."

It was on the evening of the 1st February, 1645, that Montrose came in sight of Inverlochy. The Campbells were soon aware of his approach, and some skirmishes took place between the hostile forces, who lay in arms all night. At sunrise next day the armies put themselves in motion. As described by the poet, it was a Sabbath day—

"Dhirich mi moch maduin domhnuich,
Gu bar caisteal Inbhirlochaidh,
Chunna mi'n t'arm dol an ordugh,
'S bha buaidh an la le clann Domhnuill."

The centre and reserves of Argyle's army were composed of his own clan, the Lowland troops were placed on either wing. Montrose stationed one of his Irish regiments on each flank, and his third in reserve, while the Highlanders, with his few horse, occupied the centre. The first onset was given by the Campbells, who, says Montrose, "fought with great bravery," but he adds when "after the first firing, it came to push of pike and dint of sword, they could not stand it, but broke in irretrievable confusion." Achnambreck, the commander, and many of the principal officers, fell on the field of battle, and fifteen hundred were killed in the conflict, or in the pursuit, which lasted for nine miles. Iain Lom gives the credit of the battle to Alastar, saying—

"Alastair mhic Cholla ghasda,
Lamh dheas a sgoltadh nan caisteal,
Chuir thu'n ruaig air Galla glasa,
'S ma dhol iad càl gun chuir thu asd' e."

After the battle of Inverlochy, Montrose marched to the north-east, destroying the country as he proceeded. Alastar was his right hand man in all his victorious marches and raids, and also at the battles of Tippermuir, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Aldern, Alford, and Kilsyth.

The crowning victory of Kilsyth made Montrose for the time master of Scotland, but no sooner did he announce his intention of marching into England than the Highlanders applied for leave to return home. Alastar, their commander, who had a feud with the Campbells in his native district, and wished to have it avenged, would follow them at all hazards. Montrose used every entreaty to prevail on him to stay, but to no purpose. But Alastar would not have been a Highlander if he could have preferred a public claim to one which appealed to blood and kindred. He therefore left Montrose, who never again was successful. Of this, Wishart says, "The Highlanders, being loaded with spoil, deserted privately, and soon after returned to their own country; their officers and leaders also openly demanded liberty to go home for a short time. They pretended that, as the Covenanters had at that time no army within the kingdom, there was the less occasion for their presence; and as their corn had been all destroyed and their houses burned by the enemy there was an absolute necessity for their going home, though but for a few weeks, in order to repair their habitations and lay up some winter provisions for their wives and families. Therefore, they earnestly begged a short furlough; and, as an inducement to obtain it, they solemnly promised to return in less than forty days, in greater strength and numbers. Montrose, perceiving that they were fully resolved to leave him, and that it was not in his power to detain them, as they were all volunteers and served without pay, thought it most expedient to dismiss them with a good grace. In order to ingratiate himself the more with them and encourage their return, he praised the bravery of the soldiers, and in the king's name returned thanks to the officers for their services, and entreated them to be as expeditious in settling their domestic affairs as possible, so that they might return against the appointed day, under the conduct of Alexander Macdonald, whom, at his own earnest desire, he appointed their captain. Macdonald, in a formal oration, returned thanks in all their names to the lord governor for his great condescension; and gave his solemn promise as a security for their speedy return. He carried off with him above three thousand Highlanders, all very brave men and the flower of the army; and, not satisfied with these, he privately seduced one hundred and twenty of the very best of the Irish, and carried them along with him also, as a life guard." (Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, pp. 189-190).

On the 12th September, 1645, Montrose, having moved southward, encountered General David Leslie at Philiphaugh, at the confluence of the rivers Ettrick and Yarrow, where he suffered a signal defeat. After many efforts to retrieve his losses, Montrose for a while kept up a small body of troops in the Highlands. In the month of May, 1646, at the king's command he laid down his arms and sought shelter on the Continent. Shortly after the 25th June, 1645, Sir Alastar, who was knighted after the battle of Kilsyth, returned to Argyleshire, as already referred to, with a considerable body of Highlanders and Irish, and for nearly two years held out in that district for the king. It appears this was against His Majesty's command. Sir James Turner says, "Nixt yeare after that (1646) the late king sent his commands to Montrosse to lay doune armes, which he did; the like orders did his Majestie send to Alaster and his Kintyre men, by Sir James Leslie, which that mad man and his crackebrained companie obstinatlie and rebelliouslie refused to obey." (App. No. 1, p. 240).

The reappearance of Sir Alastar and his ruthless followers in Argyle in the latter end of 1645 met with no resistance, for the people either yielded to his power or fled from the country. An extract from the records of the Synod of Argyle in 1646 indicates the state of the country in those days: "All the absentees are excused because of the troubles of the country and of their being chased and scattered frae their dwellings; the Presbytery of Cowal having gone for shelter to the Lowlands, the Presbytery of Kintyre being under the power of the rebels, and none being resident in the Presbytery of Argyle and Lorn but such as were sheltered in garrisons."

Although Montrose got the credit of leading his army into Argyle in the raids of 1644-5, yet in the traditions and songs of the period he is unknown in that district. To Alastar all the deeds, good and bad, are attributed. There are few parishes in the district but have their tale to tell of his depredations. Alastar was brave to a fault, and well qualified to lead irregular troops; but was cruel, vain, and superstitious, and—like other desperadoes—when he had none to contend against, fell into excesses and neglected discipline. Sir James Turner says, "Macdonald had good enough intelligence of Leslie's march into Kintire, and if he had been a soldire, and not excessivelie besotted with brandie and aquavitie, he should have possessed the passes this side of Kintire." (P. 238).

The last of his exploits in Argyle was at the south end of Lochawe, when he fought in single combat with Zachary mor-Maccallome of Poltallach. "The parties are said to have been equally matched, and Zachary was highly complimented by his adversary for his courage and skill as a swordsman." (Fasti.)

Here, tradition says, he erected his standard for the last time on a natural conical mound. Observing a mill at a little distance, and, inquiring its name, he was told, "Muilean Ghocamgo." Alastar was now standing on a spot which his nurse had, it seems, assigned as the limit of his good fortune as a warrior, and was so much affected that he made a precipitate retreat towards

Kintyre, "where he had boats in readiness to convey him to Islay, thence to Ireland."

After General Leslie had reduced the north to order, he marched south on his way to Argyle. On the 24th May, 1647, he left Inveraray in pursuit of Sir Alastar, expecting that the latter would defend the passes. Turner says: "If he had done so with his 1,200 brave men, Leslie could not have entered Kintire but by a miracle." But Sir Alastar made no attempt at resistance, his object being to elude his pursuers. The boats by which he was to be transhipped to Islay and Ireland were in waiting at Rudhnahaorin, near old Largie Castle, where, it seems, the fag end of his followers had a skirmish with the van of Leslie's army. Before embarking, Sir Alastar put 300 of his best men into Dunaverty Castle, in charge of Archibald Macdonald, of Sanda, who held out bravely for nearly two months (10th July). Turner says: "At first they had faire conditions offered them for their persons and baggage, if they wold give over the house; this they stiflie refused to doe, expecting releefe which Alaster had falsely promised. At length their lower trench being stormed and taken, and fortie of their men killed in it, want of water made them beg conditions which before they had refused; bot none were granted to them bot to come out on discretion, which they did, and so were put to the sword." (App., p. 239). In another place he says: "Alaster, like a foole, put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill, called Dunavertie, environed with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds"—(p. 45)—"then leaving Kintire he went to Yla, where he played just such ane other mad prank, leaving his old father, commonlie called Coll Kettoch, with neere 200 men in a castle called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. Bot before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man, Coll, coming foolishlie out of the house, where he was governor, was made prisoner, tried by jury, and afterwards hanged. Dunneveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water came to a parley. After some negotiations the officers were allowed to go where they pleased, the sojers to be transported to France."

"Before the arrival of Leslie's troops in Yla, Alaster, with the rest of his men, went to Ireland, where he was killed in a battle fought by those with whom he joyned against my Lord Taffe, now Earl of Carlingford." (Pp. 45-48).

THE SECOND INVASION—BY THE MARQUIS OF ATHOL AND HIS JACOBITE FOLLOWERS—IN 1685-1686.

After the Earl of Argyle escaped to Holland, from the sentence pronounced against him in 1681, the Marquis of Athole was appointed Lord-Lieutenant over the county of Argyle, and held his court at Inveraray, during which time a refugee sings the wail—

"Cha taobh mi na srathan,
Cha bhi mi gan tathaich,
Fhad sa ghleidheas fir Adhol a mòd."

The Marquis of Athol and his followers seem to have kept within bounds until Argyle was caught and beheaded in 1685. Afterwards the Highland hosts were let loose over this district, and plundered from the Campbells and their followers everything that they could seize upon, from their flocks and herds down to the pot crooks. The depredators engaged in this pillage were the Marquis of Athol and his retainers, including Struan Murray and Stewart of Ballequhan, the Duke of Gordon's men, the Mackays from Strathnaver, the Stewarts of Appin, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, the Macronalds of Keppoch, the Camerons of Lochaber, the Mackenzies of Lochalsh, the

Macleans of Lochbuy, Torloisk, Coll, Brolas, and Ardgour; the Macalesters from Tarbert, and the Macduffies from Islay. An account of the depredations committed was drawn up in a quarto volume of 125 pages (now before me) for presentation to Parliament after the Revolution for redress of losses sustained. This document was printed in Edinburgh in 1816, the details of which give a painful account of these disasters.

In a note appended to the volume, it says: "It may be added that wherever these plunderers came they spread desolation; the hoary head, and the yet infant children were forced to the woods and wilds, without a morsel to preserve a miserable existence; their houses being pillaged, burnt, or destroyed. . . . The common jails were crowded with prisoners; and not thinking them safe in Argyle, they were sent to Dunotter Castle in Kincardineshire, where they were confined in loathsome, contracted dungeons, and perished daily for want of common subsistence. Numbers were transported to the plantations, deprived of their ears; and many fell victims to the diseases attending long sea voyages." (Pp. 124-5.)

APPENDIX I.

ROBERT CAMPBELL'S COMPLIMENTARY POEM TO EDWARD LLUYD, 1707.

Don vasal oirdherc Maighìsdir Edward Lhuid Fear coimhead tigh na seud a Noiltigh Athndamh a Nsagsan, Ughdar a Nfocloir Ghaoidheilg. Failte.

ROIBERT CAIMPBEL Fear Faraiste mhic Chailen an Comhall, cc.

Ceillfair soc is cantair ceol,
a' nrioghachd Eirion gach ein ló;
's cuirfhar adhbha ciuil faoi ghleus,
a' ngriochuibh aoibhin na Halban.

A ntabhair fa n' deirram shud,
canamhuin or dhearc na nttir ud;
air bhi dhi o shean a mbruid,
a sgoileadh nois o chuibhreach.

Le caint a dhruidfair gach shith,
bheirthair adhradh don ard Riogh:
neach da fheabhas 's fann a chor,
's canamhuin a bhi da easbhuidh.

Do bhrostuidh sud Maistair Leod,
'mbriathra oilleinte deais ghlór,
freumh don aìttil chruadhach ghrinn,
do shiol buadhach na mbriothnach.

18

Oiden iuil a nsas na bhfiliachd,
a nórd stuidair na sgoilleachd;
'ta chaiddra tuinnidh is tamh,
ag a ndamh a Nsaxon.

Sgaile mordhachd sair treun ghniomh,
ndrong chuir Eire fuidh throm chiós;
aon don chinneadh cheudchathach ud,
ntogbhail a ris go mhorchlu.

A 'ngniómh do rognuidh maca ud,
teistas ar meud a mhemna,
d' fag mairrionte buan a bhladh,
alloill a' bhflaithar Ghatheal.

Nior thaisteil talamh dom fhios,
ughdair chomhmeiste leis;
faoi da beothuidh ar ais,
oghuim ceir na Gatheilg.

Tomnad sgrôbhthe dha mair dhuais,
a chaoidhch go mbi alladh a' fas,
eagneachd a cheille le' nchnuas,
go la Luan dar eis a bhais.

A CHRIOCH.

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